

# Anarchist Worker

**Trust Houses Forte**  
-SPECIAL FEATURE

February/March 1976 Number 33

10p

## THE RIGHT LINES UP

**RECENT ACTIONS of the National Association For Freedom show how scared the ruling class is.**

So scared that parts of its right wing is organising for attacks on workers.

NAFF's injunction against the Union of Postal Workers not to black post to the strike-hit firm of Grunwick in North London, followed up by a similar injunction as regards telegrams and operator connected phone calls to South Africa shows this, as does yet another obscenely racist speech from Enoch Powell in his attempts to get white workers at the throats of black workers.

This right wing, while spouting a lot of hot air about freedom, is attempting to take away any gains the working class has won in this country over the last hundred years. Witness Eton Griffiths, Tory MP for Bury St. Edmunds, in a speech in which he attacked trade union closed shops.

### Freedom?

Witness Airey Neave, Tory spokesman on Northern Ireland, when he talked about freedom - that's a joke - in Northern Ireland. "The Government, despite the miserable activities of the Troops Out Movement, must persist in defence of that freedom".



**PICKETING** Grunwick's outlets on the Day of Action, 29th January. The National Association for Freedom would like to be active like these. **BELOW:** Drawing attention to the British problem in Ireland - "...intenable activist" says Tony Airey Neave. Photo Michael Sheridan and Mark Barker (EJL)



This lorry driver was persuaded not to cross the picket line by women on strike for equal pay at Magnavox, Barking.

many know already when she openly speaks out against socialism and any attempt to get the Labour Party to adopt socialist measures. *Anarchist Worker* says that any such attempts are doomed to failure. Socialism cannot be legislated through parliament, nor does it mean paternalistic state control in its supposed 'interests' of the working class. The working class alone, by its own activity, can build socialism. At the same time we should attempt to get through to lower ranks of the Labour Party, pointing out the bankruptcy of the Party and how the Labour right wingers are attempting to stifle any opposition, and how the real fight for socialism must be fought outside the Party in the workplace and neighbourhood. **Waking up** While the bourgeois organises its forces, the working class is not completely asleep. While there has

rot, as yet, been a spectacular response to rising prices and cutbacks, workers around the country have been involved in a series of strikes over union recognition and equal pay. Experience and organisation are being built up in fights that they are fairly certain they can win if they show determination. TRICO, in West London, for example, where women won equal pay after a long and bitter strike. Automat, in Swinton, Manchester where 25 workers won union recognition after a year of struggle, despite financial support to the boss from the NAFF. And the strike of Grunwick in Willesden continues for basic Trade Union rights, still solid after many weeks. (See also Trust Houses Forte, in this issue)

In Sheffield, 25,000 engineering workers came out in protest against the threatened closure of the Capital Tools factory, part of the Edgar Allen Balfour group, which would put 400 out of work. At MagnaVox, in Barking, East London, 180 women struck for equal pay, and in Greenwich 70 steelworkers struck over safety at work. In Newham, five women workers refused to clear the dangerous substance asbestos, and came out. Their strike has been a long and hard one, with little support from their union officials. Actions continue up and down the country. Slowly workers are building up resistance, often against the union bureaucracy as well as the bosses. It is very important for long term success that a genuine rank and file is built, so that nation-wide support can be gained for these local strikes and serious opposition to the bosses attacks can be mounted. Editorial Collective.

Photo: John Burnock (Report)

# E.G.A. stays!

WORKERS OF THE EGA Hospital for women in London have been occupying the hospital for over three months. The occupation, which is in response to DHSS attempts to close the hospital, is supported by all the Unions and staff involved in its running.

Doctors, nurses and all other staff are continuing to work as usual and patients are still being admitted.

A continuous picket of workers and supporters is in action to monitor arrivals and to prevent the removal of patients and machinery.

The hospital is the bigger of only two general hospitals in the country run by women for women. It has been steadily run down over the past few years and as early as October 1974 hints of the forthcoming closure led to the formation within the hospital of an Action Committee composed of various sections of the staff and including one patient.

In February last year Barbara Castle announced that the hospital would be closed from its present site on Euston Road in Camden and incorporated into a chain of hospitals "in an identifiable form".

No adequate reasons were given for closing the hospital and the workers do not take seriously the proposition that it can be incorporated into the Whittington Hospital in Islington without losing its identity as a women's hospital and with no loss of facilities.

## Job loss

The move will undoubtedly mean a reduction in health care facilities in both Camden and Islington, as well as a loss of jobs.

The hospital was founded by Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, the first woman to qualify as a doctor in Britain, to give women the chance to train and practice as doctors and to provide health care for women by medical staff of their own sex. As such, its closure is an attack not only on health standards in general, but on women in particular.

Women have always received second class treatment under the national health service.

Many of our health problems are treated unprofessionally or passed off as neuroses. This is particularly true in the case of menstrual problems and minor disorders of genital and reproductive organs, such as cystitis, thrush etc.

Women miss on average 20% more visits to a doctor than men, yet because of shortages of doctors in the profession, few women have the possibility of being treated by a doctor of their own sex. A member of the shop stewards committee at the hospital described "women doctors" as the single most important service of the E.G.A.

The occupation challenges the working of the health service, especially in its relation to child and civil engineering.

At the same time it is an example of how the workers and the public can join together to fight in a direct way against attacks on their rights and living standards.

A threat by the AHA to move out machinery on the 28th January has been postponed and the hospital has been given 8 weeks grace in the meantime help is needed on the picket line - contact Arthur Churchy at the EGA, Euston Road, London N1RT tel. 387 2501 ext. 50.

The EGA Campaign meets every Tuesday night at 6.30pm at the EGA.

## The rich get richer...

1976 SAW RECORD CROPS throughout the world, with the wheat harvest topping 400m tons for the first time ever. The world stockpile of wheat now stands at 165m tons, an increase of 41% over 1975.

Does all this extra food mean people getting more to eat? They visited a typical multi-racial owner-occupied street and called at each house to ask if the occupants had been visited by an Environmental Health Officer (EHO) in the past year.

They found that whilst none of the white families had been visited in living memory, all the Asian families were visited regularly every few months.

None of the families had been warned beforehand of the visits, though the department is legally required to give at least 24 hours' notice.

The purpose of the visits, at least the reason given, was to "ascertain whether the houses were overcrowded".

None of the houses visited were in multiple occupation, and in most cases any people staying in the house when the EHO visited who were not members of the immediate family were only temporary guests.

## Concentration

The problem is clearly not one of population but of distribution. Ownership of land has become concentrated - fewer and fewer hands, with 2.5% of the larger landowners (not including smallholders and farmers under 250 acres) owning 3/4 of all the world's land, and of these 0.23% control over half.

They have increasingly tended to be the food multi-nationals, whose primary concern is profits rather than actual needs.

In many third-world countries, especially China, etc., foodstuffs are actually exported to the developed countries, in spite of shortages and the fact that people in the developed countries consume on average three times as much per head.

## Withheld

Capitalism's food policy is to encourage a scarcity system in order to drive prices up. This involves withholding produce from the market, raising land out of cultivation (last year the EEC had a stockpile of 370,000 tons of wheat) Argentina had a surplus of 65,100 live cattle, in addition to the mountainous stockpile, better mountains and wide lakes).

This naturally tends to drive food away from the poorer countries to the richer ones where higher prices can be set. The world's largest food exporter, the US, exports largely to the EEC countries.

The resultant picture is one of anorectic concentration. As world food supplies actually increase, the amount that the poorer countries can afford gets less.

The situation is likely to worsen as the increase in world food production slows. The multi-nationals will try to maintain their rate of profits at the expense of hundreds of thousands of lives through famine, and falling standards of nutrition for the two-thirds of the world that are already underfed.

## PUTTING THE BOOT IN

Building Contractors Henry Boot Ltd., well known to York residents for the preposterous construction of the Smith's Singer complex in Conny St. have, believe it or not, won a major safety award for the second year running.

It was awarded for the "most significant contribution to the improvement of safety in the UK building and civil engineering industry during the year".

Mr. Clive Cusack, the firm's safety officer, will receive a framed certificate.

In May last year 12 men were fined (given the "boot") for committing safety conditions at the Conny St. site.

For example scaffolding was secured by being strapped to a chimney, an unsafe shortcut, but made more precarious when the men were asked to demolish the chimney!

The men were also asked to burrow down a 9ft shaft under the foundations and tunnel through them - but no safe way was provided for this.

At this stage the men complained and they began an occupation of the building that lasted five weeks, until they were intimidated and safety precautions taken.

During the same period workers on an other Boot site in Northumberland were feeling the full force of unsafe conditions. In that site 3 men were killed in a few weeks and another lost an arm.

In one of the workers on the Conny St. site subsequently commented when told of Boot's award "You must be ... ing joking".

York Free Press Nov 1976

## ASIANS HARASSED

Over the past few months Southdown Press in Leamington Spa has been investigating the activities of the Environmental Health Department, following rumours that the department was singling out Asians for special treatment.

They visited a typical multi-racial owner-occupied street and called at each house to ask if the occupants had been visited by an Environmental Health Officer (EHO) in the past year.

They found that whilst none of the white families had been visited in living memory, all the Asian families were visited regularly every few months.

None of the families had been warned beforehand of the visits, though the department is legally required to give at least 24 hours' notice.

The purpose of the visits, at least the reason given, was to "ascertain whether the houses were overcrowded".

None of the houses visited were in multiple occupation, and in most cases any people staying in the house when the EHO visited who were not members of the immediate family were only temporary guests.

## Protest

Following the murder of an Asian woman in November - she was tied to a chair and burnt to death - and several racist killings of Asians returning from work, local immigrant representatives and the Trades Council sent a protest to the Home Office.

This document detailed the lack of protection against racist attacks and the way in which the National Front and other organisations were using the way in which their activities in the area.

Other complaints were that a grant for Urban Aid for a multi-racial community centre has twice been refused with no reasons given that young immigrants were discriminated against when they applied for apprenticeships.

Equal pay for non-white women in the area was a nonsense the document stated, as so many were employed as home-workers or in sweatshops where pay was below subsistence level for all immigrants who could not speak English were not informed of their rights in DHSS offices, it said.

The document concluded that self defence against racist attacks, race hatred, and discrimination by petty bureaucrats was the only meaningful, effective action Asians and other non-whites could take in this situation.

## Upstairs

They often meet upstairs to have a look around' uninvited and without

The tyranny of stRuTuEneSS

by Jo Freeman

Send 5p \* 7p p&p to AWA, 13 Colman Street, Hull, Humberside for a copy, 10 or more 31p each. Please make cheques/POs payable to 'AWA General Fund'.

In this pamphlet Jo Freeman attempts to sketch out an approach to organisation that would prevent the growth of elitist leadership - which both highly centralised and highly informal groupings tend to produce.

In revision from the tyrannical structures of governments, unions and other organisations some anarchists have shied away from any meaningful consideration of self-organisation.

The Anarchist Workers Association played no part in the writing of this pamphlet but has found it highly applicable to the ineffectuality of anarchism in Britain in recent decades.

SAVE E.G.A. Hosp. PETITIONS AVAILABLE NOW



Photo: Angela Phillips (LFL)













# letters

## Aberystwyth

Dear Comrades,

Aberystwyth Anarchist Group is easily the largest group in Wales and to our knowledge this is the only town in Wales which has a substantial group of anarchists who meet regularly as a fixed group.

A small group exists in Swansea, otherwise anarchists in Wales are active only at some places, particularly Cardiff, the number of anarchists active in various fields is considerable.

One of the largest anarchist groups has been particularly active in extending links to the West and more Murray to Wales.

Next from Aberystwyth itself, the campaign has been extended to all the Welsh towns, either by comrades from Aberystwyth itself by anarchists and anarchist activists in towns who have distributed leaflets produced by the Aberystwyth group.

Through these activities the group has also become involved in the Welsh Prisoners and Detention Committee which is becoming

active in the defence of political prisoners in Wales.

An anarchist presence in Aberystwyth is now firmly established and copies of *Anarchist Worker* have become steadily easier to sell in the town.

In Wales as a whole, however, the anarchist movement is isolated and in effective, with virtually no regular contact between individual comrades or groups. To overcome this weakness, efforts to establish a Federation of Welsh Anarchists have been underway for some time and are approaching fruition.

A national conference will probably be held early in the new year.

In the meantime we ask all comrades in the movement to keep in contact with the Aberystwyth group, by letter or by telephone to the Union, Laura Price, Aberystwyth.

Respectfully,  
Mike S. Dwyer,  
Aberystwyth Anarchist Group.

## Free fall

Dear Comrades,

While reading the October issue of *Anarchist Worker* I was rather disappointed to come across a piece of economic dogma written in a paper which professes to emphasise the social nature of revolution.

I am referring to the article on the LDC at Brighton which superficially states that the Law of the Falling Rate of Profit leads

us to believe that the capitalist mode of production has inherent tendencies to collapse, stagnate or fall into crisis.

I would like to point out that this law is by no means accepted as gospel by those Marxists who have attempted to develop a critical analysis of modern society, minority capitalist.

The law has been rigorously examined by Paul Cartier in *Marxism's Capitalism*, *Revolution, Solidarity*, 2nd Edition, 1974 and the *Capitalist Factory and the Profit*, *Marxism*, Stockport Books, 1975.

On 24 March 1974, pp 95-121.

Cardiff Group, *Left Review*

Falling Rate of Profit is a logically inconsistent, in 'hypothetical' sense.

Hogson argues that the evidence presented by Glyn and Sutcliffe in an attempt to prove the Law of the Falling Rate of Profit does not in fact result from the forces originally identified by Marx.

Some both of their arguments are lengthy and dislaid it would be unwise of me to attempt to duplicate them or summarise them here.

However I read all those miserable in developing a critique of traditional revolutionary theory to urge the above mentioned article.

In doing so we must reject the conception of the capitalist economy as invariably grinding its way towards its final collapse and the corresponding politics of waiting for the crash.

We must recognise that there is now a high degree of state control in the British

economy and a 1930's type crash is most unlikely.

Of course I am not suggesting that we regard such a crash as inevitable, it is quite clear that British capitalism is in the state of recovery.

However we must recognise that we are so complex and diverse, that they cannot be reduced to a simple equation.

We can only develop our theory through the investigation of concrete socio-economic developments from the point of view of practical revolutionary strategy.

your faithfully  
I.W. Brighton.

## Shock probe

Well,  
Regarding the headline in the October *Anarchist Worker* "Millions trapped in a Moor Horror!" - it's really bad, it's the sort of thing you expect from the PSP.

Everyone I showed it to (Lambert or not) thought it was really bad, it's not the sort of thing you can expect.

It's obviously just not an, you must have felt that when you thought it up, sorry?

Well, I will realise it, I see I've got not to do. Perhaps it was an attempt to relate to the "man in the street" or maybe the working class?

I doubt it though, no one could be patronising enough to think that. There are people going round who wouldn't be put off by that style.

It really reminded me of *Newsline* with a bit of *Blackboard* thrown in.

Perhaps you thought that a bit of sensationalism would catch people's eye. If so it's a very cheap trick, and from my experience it fails in the long run.

Thanks for reading this far,  
Michael Parkinson,  
Newcastle.

Editor write:  
As hoped, that headline provoked quite a lot of reaction. With this single exception, it was not as successful as I had hoped.

This letter is critical. Was the headline too freeform - not serious enough for a revolutionary message? How much should humour be a part of the revolutionary struggle?

Left publications can be boring, but what they say and how they put it across, it's an acknowledged fact.

They are also to laugh rather at themselves for at capitalism.

What they have to say is often lost in the laugh track, it's a pity, it's a pity it's always implicitly reactionary.

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# Rally against sex discrimination

THE SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT and the Equal Pay Act were brought in through pressure from the women's movement and the labour movement.

But the law cannot force employers to give equal opportunity

to women any more than it can establish reasonable conditions for all workers.

From a leaflet produced by the "The rallying committee:

"The real victors have been won by women who have had to struggle in active struggles, as at Trico.

But what is won in pay in lost as unemployment scours and the cuts force women to take a greater burden of caring for children, the old and the sick, and, not urgent operations - hysterectomies, abortions etc. are postponed for weeks or months."

The Rally will draw together the experiences of all those fighting for women's rights, from the most militant such as the occupation of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital to those just beginning to connect the knot of women's

# Cash needed

A Special Supplement was rushed out when the news first hit that Maria and Noel Murray were on trial in Dublin for their lives, accused of killing an off-duty policeman. For AW, this was the first time a supplement was tried as an intervention and proved to be very effective in the campaign which has eventually saved their lives (though Marie could still face the gallows after her retrial), as reprint followed reprint.

5,000 ANARCHIST WORKER broadsheets were handed out on the big November 17 London anti-cuts demonstration linking the slashed public expenditure with the criminal trespass proposals, then about to be presented to parliament, building for the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespas Law conference later that month in Reading.

Also in November a 4-page supplement, the largest yet, was run off and included in every copy of AW on the 1956 Hungarian revolution. This was not history for history's sake, but a succinct example of autonomous working class activity. A former member of the British VCL, and CP asked us to send her a bundle saying that the events of Hungary 56 broke the CP. It was like a slap in the face, said, for people who live their whole life for the Party, and very important for working people who to know what really happened then.

All this cost money, a lot of it.

For the past three months, bookshops had been receiving their copies of ANARCHIST WORKER through the Publications Distribution Co-operative. This has meant the proportion of AW going into bookshops going up to 20% of the total run, and it getting to many more towns than we have been able to do ourselves; something for which we are very thankful to Co-op. Going through the FDC, however, has added to the cash flow problem, as we are having to wait longer for the money than previously.

On top of all this was the appeal for a Headliner - a vital time- and cost-saving piece of equipment - which has meant that the donations previously subsidising the lots AW makes each month were going elsewhere.

The financial burden on members of the Association in all areas of the country has been particularly heavy in the past few months.

For instance the commitment to Murrafs defence, especially in Scotland and the Midlands, weighed heavily on members' pockets, as has the fight against the cutbacks in public expenditure on a local level, anti-racist work, etc.

Also, it is difficult to see how it ever gets out at all. However, since ANARCHIST WORKER was launched last May, our circulation has more than doubled.

As the crisis gets worse, more and more people are beginning to question the discarded remedies of leaving everything to market forces on the one hand, and more nationalisation on the other, and are searching for an alternative.

This makes it vital that the ideas of self-organisation and self-management are spread to as many sections of the working class as possible.

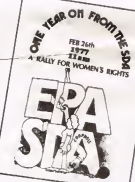
If we are to do this, we need to expand the paper and bring it out fortnightly - or even weekly! But without help and money from everyone, this will remain just a dream.

We have now raised enough money to pay for the headliner so that any money you send us from now on will bring us that much closer to the day AW appears more often. At the same time we still need to increase circulation, so why not take a bundle and sell where you work, where you live, to your friends.

Articles are also very welcome: no one who writes for AW is a professional journalist.

Please make cheques/POs payable to 'AWA General Fund' and send them to: AWA, 13 Colman Street, Hull.

At the time of the National Conference in London 21 August - 1 September 1974.



# AWA'S 3 PRINCIPLES

1 Capitalism is a class society. The working class is the only class which can overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish a new society based on the principle of self-management and exchange. The bourgeoisie is the enemy of the working class and the enemy of the working class.

2 The social environment and exploitation of the working class is the basis upon which modern capitalism stands, without which it cannot exist.

3 The state is the instrument of the bourgeoisie, and must be destroyed by the working class. The state is the instrument of the bourgeoisie, and must be destroyed by the working class.

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**OBTAINING** a safe abortion will become even more difficult if the Bill to be submitted to Parliament next month is passed.

This emerged from the National Abortion Rights Tribunal held at the Central Hall, Westminster, on September 29th, 1984.

The Tribunal, which was organised by the National Abortion Campaign and attended by several thousand people, was responsible for the resignation of its pro-abortionists from the Select Committee set up to examine the provisions of the 1967 Abortion Act.

At the end of the proceedings of the James White Bill 2 years ago, the committee has again recommended that all women who request an abortion should be able to carry out the procedure on the National In Vitro Fertilisation Project. This has never been the intention of the Government. The abortions have consistently declined since 1968 to its present level of 50%.

In some areas (e.g. Birmingham) it is as low as 12 per cent.

The cutting back of abortion facilities – and the complete closure of some – such as the one at Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hos in London, will hit particularly hard the women who are poor and who will not be able to afford £60 for a charity abortion.

The introduction of the bill comes at a time when the already inadequate provisions for abortion in the NHS are being eroded by government cuts in abortion expenditure. Given the attitudes to abortion in our society, it is not surprising that abortion facilities will be among the first to go.

The majority of Area Health Authorities have never complied with the obligations laid out in the 1967 Abortion Act.

ON JANUARY 8, 11,000 pages of Court summons and affidavits, were served on the 130 "illegal" squatters, both families and single people of Villa Roda.

Villa Roda is due for demolition in order to create another park area, rubble and debris from the old building will be used as iron — officially termed an 'open' space'.

Lambeth council played a really dirty trick here: at the same time as serving the summons they began rehousing the squatters, they were working hard on their case for forced evictions.

The Council are now planning to demolish housing for 300 people for a few years.

presented a report which would allow for the rehabilitation of the area. The two new houses were handed over to the council, but the council considered this would have been to admit the situation and not to solve it.

For Villa Road, when faced with a local building workers' ban on work on the houses, the council brought in lump workers to do the dirty work.

Armbeth has the worst housing situation in any London borough with a waiting list of over 17,000 homeless families.

Although Armbeth is all over the borough are scores of fencible-off waste

the council has two great projects on hand. One is to build a new school which the houses could be used for. The other is to build a council vandalism.

Armbeth has a lot to do to use to spare years ago a small group of committed people set up a group to deal with the limited periods and eventually helped to get the council to do it.

They financed their own repairs, and have been able to get the council to do the building co-operative, and grant.

The co-op has a work-force of ten, six of whom are employed through the Job Corps, and the other four are from the school-leavers.

Armbeth has a lot to do with Lambeth council, and in 1982, in reaching out to help 300 families in need of help, and in 1983, in being the best and best of its kind.

of 12 acres to about 38 acres. The GLC predicts that Lambeth will have a declining population; Lambeth Council estimates it will make this true.

"Leading Tory councillor has said: 'I'm sure that the extra population that doesn't stay we should demolish houses that are built for them'."

Lambeth are determined to stamp out squatting, because if they force them to leave their housing, they can sell it.

Squatters defend eviction to council workers as "the best way to get things controlled not by people's needs, but by an insane system."

You are welcome to advertise your events here, but please remember it costs money to bring out AWI, so donations are welcomed.

**MAR. 5th — MERTHYR TYDFIL**  
Welsh CACTL Day Conference. Sponsors  
include AUEW/TASS Welsh Divisional  
Council. Details from Jeremy Gass,  
31 Monmouth Rd. Abergavenny,  
Monmouth.

Organised by media workers, mainly from Equity and NUJ, in the IMG but they will be of an open nature with, hopefully, active participation of all shades of socialist opinion.

Various people, most of whom are not in the IMG, will briefly introduce each session, but discussion will not necessarily be limited to the framework they set.

**FEB. 20th at 7pm**  
The mass media and the class struggle — Introduced by Paul Walton, co-author of *Bad News. Sexism & Racism in the mass media* — introduced by Tunde Anthony, co-editor of *Black Struggle* and *Mendy Mark of Time Out* and *Red Rag*. For venues see *Time Out*. Agitprop column.

Public discussion will be held regularly on the first and third Mondays of each month at the St. Bride's Centre, Roseville St. (off Dumbarton Rd) Perthick, Glasgow at 7.30pm. The subjects so far are:

FEB. 7th - 'Nationalism'  
FEB. 21st - 'Fight to live'  
MAR. 7th - 'Education'  
MAR. 21st - 'Anarchism and the other

Further details: 041-637 7360 or  
336 7895.

FEB. 26th  
MERAG Public Meeting – 'Arabs in Israel:  
Organisation and Resistance'. Conway Hall,  
London at 7pm. Details. 01 278 9208.

**FEB. 17th - "NOT A PENNY ON THE RENT."** A 1968 film about the GLC tenants associations and their first rent strike, and 'ARISE YE WORKERS' on the London docks strike and the imprisonment of the Pentonville 5.

**MAR. 10th - "CAMPAMENTO."** Chileen peasants fighting eviction from the church-owned land they took over to build a shanty town. And, "A HOUSING FILM" made by Students for a Democratic Housing - this film looks at different types of homeless people and accommodation available for them and at actions that can be taken against homelessness.

**FEB. 19th/20th**  
Papers so far promised: 'The rise of fascism in Germany and the analysis of Reich,' 'The fascist threat today and how it should be met.'  
**WRITE NOW** for credentials, information on accommodation, other details, to Oxford AWA, c/o EOA Books, 34 Cowley Road, Oxford.

**LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK**  
is now functioning. If you want to hear more please contact: Peter Baker, A06 Alletley House, Rottes Residences, The University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL.

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AWA, 13 Coltman Street, Hull, Humberside

out MARCH 6th  
Contents include 'Problems of 1977 NUT  
Conference'; 'Unofficial, official strike  
action'; 'T: Black Papers'.  
30p from S.T., 221 Westcombe Hill, SE3.

Voluntary workers needed urgently by PNS, a non-sectarian left news and info service. No particular skills needed – just political commitment.

Peoples News Service, 142 Drummond St., London NW1.

☐ I would like to subscribe

CountarAct needs two women for a play on nursery provision and women's relationship to capitalism. Although acting/musical ability useful, commitment to women's

☐ If there is a tick in this issue.  
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**Contact:**  
CounterAct, 27 Clarks Well Close,  
London EC1. 251 4977 or (evas)  
267 6069



# SOCIAL CONTRACT MUST GO UNDER

RECENT EVENTS at Leyland show the extent to which the bureaucracy of the unions, ever loyal to a Labour government dominated by the right, show their collaboration with the industrialists.

'Back to work or else!', threatens Scanlon.

'Back to work or else!', threatens the government.

'Back to work or else!', threatens the National Enterprise Board.

Yet isn't this the 'left' Scanlon that the Communist Party gave its backing to not so long ago? Just as it gave its backing to Beaver Jack Jones and those other 'lefts', Wilson and Foot, in the past.

Further examples of class collaboration from union leaders can be seen in the threats to striking workers at the *Times* from the NATSOPA leadership; and the backdown of Geoffrey Dray (see inside) over the Scottish public service strike.

## Determination

Yet in spite of all this, workers are beginning to show a determination to fight back.

The Social Contract is seriously threatened by a rising tide of anger and against redundancies workers have occupied three Plessey factories throughout the country.

A previous occupation of the Wilt Mellor Bromley factory in Leicester was called off after a threatened court injunction. This pattern is repeated in the smashing of the occupation on the Globtik Venus.

The rash of occupations throughout colleges and universities against cuts faces similar threats, with an injunction and the smashing of the occupation at the London School of Economics.

## Threats

The bosses are beginning to bare their fangs, with the increasing use of injunctions called for by either the right-wingers in NALGO, 'liberals' like LSE principal Dahrendorf, or strike-breaking organisations like the NAF.

Physical dispersal of occupations are now to be seen, whether it be

hired thugs as on the Globtik Venus or police as at the LSE.

Faced with increasing militancy from workers, students and the homeless, the bosses resort to their faithful servant, the law, with the Criminal Trespass Bill being put through parliament.

This law will not only affect occupations of workplace and college, but also the thousands of people squatting throughout Britain because they cannot obtain other accommodation.

## Defence

Occupations, wherever they take place, must be defended and the maximum mobilisation possible in the area must be countered against such threat, through workers, students and squatters united organisations.

Merlyn Rees has already obtained the planned deportation of Age and Hosenball, in compliance with the CIA and the US treasury.

He is already preparing laws to further limit immigration and harass immigrants already here, in the same way as he has used the Prevention of Terrorism Act to harass the Irish working class community, with arbitrary arrests and deportations. Many of these people had nothing to do with the IRA but happened to be militant at their place of work.

## All out!

In the face of all these attacks on the meagre liberties obtained by the working class (and only then through years of struggle), it becomes more and more important to fight against low wages and for equal pay; against unemployment and the cuts; against the Criminal Trespass Law, the Immigration Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

One way in which rank and file organisations can be built up is by building for the national day of strike action called by the Liaison Committee in defence of Trade Unions this 7/10/1978, to fight against the Social Contract for free collective bargaining.



Photo: John Sturges (Report)

Workers occupy at Menny Ferguson. The Labour government is trying to outlaw actions like these with the Criminal Trespass Law now going through Parliament.

# Anarchist Worker

56 BRITISH LEYLAND workers in Horsepath, Oxford, have been out for several weeks – not the most spectacular of the recent stoppages but showing just how much rules and laws are bent to suit the bosses' convenience unless they are forced to see the workers' side.

It was customary for the parts selectors and other workers involved to be given a certain number of hours overtime in the shape of specific jobs.

If these jobs took less time than expected, the men could leave when they were completed without docking off – after all a job is worth as much if it takes a little longer or shorter to do.

But in December the management started asking men to start other jobs if they finished those allocated before the time allowed was up.

Apart from anything else, this would have been depriving other workers from their chances of overtime.

When they refused, they lost the pay for that afternoon – pay for work they had already done.

After two weeks strike the management admitted that they had been wrong over the one afternoon.

be twice the amount but they would get no more pay.

So the workers are still out, and other sections laid off as a result.

And here's the other sting:

Men laid off were asked to do the work of the strikers which of course they refused to do.

They were then told that meant they had refused jobs offered and so were not entitled to supplementary benefit.

Others not excluded by this meant have been deprived by the Social Security, after phoning the men laid off were asked to do the work of the strikers which of course they refused to do.

Another of the problems of this dispute and many of the others in Leyland is its isolation.

The workforce are split up into many bargaining units, jealous of differentials, not always in the know and not always sympathetic there-



BRIMMINGHAM – British Leyland Longbridge workers demonstrate against the social contract. Photo: Dave Evans (FLA)

They refused to pay the men for the time they were out at the usual 80% rate for stoppages where the men involved are not 'in the wrong'.

By agreeing to pay for the afternoon's work the company had tacitly admitted their responsibility for the stoppage.

The management is also expecting the backlog of orders to be cleared in normal work time – each job will

fore when they lose time because of a dispute in another section.

The management makes best use of the situation playing one section off against another – until it suits them to lump workers in one trade group to do them out of SS.

It seems obvious to suggest trying to lessen the number of unions and sections involved – until you realise management are also calling for this.

It would make control by the union bureaucracy over the shop stewards and rank and file much

## Sting

The management is also expecting the backlog of orders to be cleared in normal work time – each job will

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Longbridge toolmakers shop stewards leaving the meeting that decided to return to work. Photo: John Sturrock (Report)

After a comparatively quiet time, recent events – most notably the Longbridge protest against the social contract – indicate that car workers may be beginning to see through the promises of prosperity resulting from greater productivity.

Most readers of *Anarchist Worker* probably realise that already and that increasing the number of motor cars doesn't do us much good.

It is a hopeful sign if car workers don't preface wage or other claims by saying that their conditions should be improved to make the production of cars go better, but instead imply that there is no point at all in making cars if they have to make sacrifices and suffer worse pay and work conditions.

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A.R.

## STRIKE AT LEYLAND

## Riot aftermath

PRISONERS have been harassed and beaten up by screws and solitary confinement has been widespread, following the riot at Hull gaol last September (see witness account *Anarchist Worker* October '78).

As early as November 1975, Sixton got 720 days loss of remission and 252 days of lost privileges.

There are just some of the severest sentences handed out.

PROF has demanded a public inquiry into the Hull prison conditions.

It has just begun producing a bi-monthly newspaper called PROPI.

It contains 7 prisoner accounts of the riots, as well as an obituary of the Irish Republican and socialist Noel Jenkinson, who died last year in prison, articles on George Jackson and how class society makes all prisoners political prisoners.

Well worth a read – 10p a postage or £1 p.a. post free from: 10 Montrose St., Hull or 32A Park Road, London SW19 2HT.

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## Conference

A LONDON Squatters Conference is to be held at the weekend of April 19/20. It is being organised in the face of the repressive criminal trespass proposals which are currently in Parliament as part 2 of the Criminal Law Bill.

The conference is being organised by a group of squatters including members of the Anarchist Society for Squatters and the Squatters Action Council.

The conference has two main functions: to focus attention on the criminal trespass proposals and the fight against them, and to improve the organisation of squatters in London.

Even other squatters will be welcome.

It is a meeting which should be a forum for discussion of squatters' issues for squatters and not an open public discussion like the squatters' meeting in May 1975 which ended in total confusion.

And it is intended to be an academic seminar on squatting. The discussions will be presented modestly, constructively.

The agenda has not been finalised but there will definitely be plenary sessions on 'Squatters and the Law', 'Criminal Trespass', and the 'Housing Crisis'.

Workshops that will definitely be arranged include 'Trespass', 'Squatters and the Law', 'Licence and Housing Co-operation', 'Squatting and the media', 'Women and Squatting', and 'Squatting in other countries'.

Other suggestions are still being examined. The second day of the conference will be devoted to discussing how squatters should organise both internally and to fight the criminal trespass proposals.

People with ideas on this are invited to submit proposals to the conference organisers (c/o 28 Paul Road, London N1) so that they can be circulated before the conference (Deadline April 5).

The conference venue is the Jackson Linn Community Centre, Archway Road, London N6. The Centre is right opposite Highgate tube station.

10.6 each day with a benefit dance on Saturday night.

There will be food and a canteen.

For further information, ring 269 3676, 310 5189 or 266 4462, or write to: Squatters Conference, c/o 28 Paul Rd., London N1.

# Anarchist Worker

The fight for workers' power in Spain - centre pages

July 1977 Number 35

10p

## For a workers' solution to the crisis!

# BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

### CUTS MUST BE FOUGHT

IN MAY the AWA National Conference took place. One of the most important debates was around our experience of the last six months in the fight against the redundancies and cuts in public spending that the Social Contract has brought.

Time and again it was pointed out that once working people accepted any blame for the present crisis of the private sector, they were then their fight against any particular cut in jobs, housing, schools, hospitals was hamstrung because they were led into an argument about what to cut. The experience of AWA members reaffirmed that it was right to take the clear stand that working people are not responsible for the crisis and that we are not going to pay for it.

One of the key areas that we felt it important to put a lot of work into is the question of the 'social wage'. That is all the benefits paid for by our taxes — from housing, to schools, to hospitals, etc. In the areas the cuts are much more difficult to fight — than when they show as redundancies and smaller wage packets.

We think they are important because they are about the whole quality of life in a way that goes beyond the necessary fight for a decent wage. They are about the rights that working people have fought for together — decent housing, education, health. It's more difficult to get a fight going against these social wage cuts but it poses directly the question of the sort of society we want, who makes the decisions about it, and how do we get it? A start has already been made in some areas, we'll report progress.

The AWA passed the following motion as the basis for organising to oppose the cuts, to reverse them, and to start a fight to improve the quality of life for working people, by the action of working people themselves.

PUBLIC SERVICES in this country—health, education, social security—have been secured by working people through many hard years of struggle.

Now these services have come under vicious and widespread attack from the employing class. The slump forces them to exert pressure to axe expenditure in the public services.

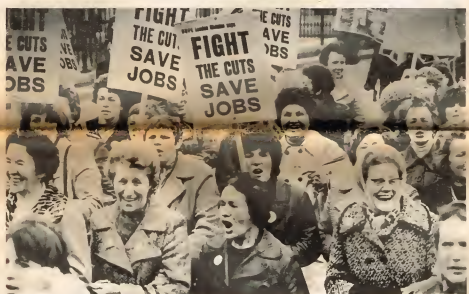
What has to be realised, and realised by the majority of working people in this country, is that any attack on these services—the reduction of personnel levels and closure of schools, hospitals, day patient clinics etc.—is an attack on our pockets. Working-class access to health, education and to financial assistance in times of unemployment and hardship are part of a 'social wage'. This 'social wage' is being taken away at the same time as the ordinary wage is being reduced through price rises.

A realisation of the 'social wage' must lead to increased opposition to the cuts. This fight back involves the creation of cuts committees and the unity of public service workers and all those who use these services.

If, the public sector itself, the unity of those who work it must be hammered out. This involves a hard struggle against sectional interests and divisions in the workforce—between junior doctors, nurses and hospital ancillary workers, between teachers and school ancillary staff, between librarians and civil servants—in the various government departments between members of NUPE, NALGO, CPSA, COMSE and other unions which have members across public service workers.

Such a public sector alliance is necessary to destroy these sectional divisions and because by themselves each group of public sector workers has little industrial muscle and even less militant experience (doubtless being an obvious exception).

Unity of public sector workers can present one face to the social contract, to redundancies and closures, and to outside contracts on



80,000 people demonstrated against the cuts in public services in May. Now an alliance must be built between public sector workers. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

such things as cleaning and wage delivery.

A study of militancy in the National Union of Teachers, for example, reveals that every successfully fought wage struggle took place in the shadow of strikes of other workers in the public sector and other industries. Teachers were able to win a wage increase when other sections of workers were in the field.

The battle to protect the social wage and to fight cuts best can be fought through a public sector alliance, and this battle itself can create a public sector alliance.

It's up to revolutionaries in the public sector to begin the work of building just such a public sector, by raising the subject in their workplaces and union branch, and

inside leftwing organisations and through the pages of the left press (*Socialist Challenge, Socialist Worker, Big Flame* etc.).

The demand for a public sector alliance can be an area where revolutionaries and trade union militants, all those in the public sector willing to fight the cuts and the social contract, can get together.

When strike action comes for better wages and conditions, and against the destruction of the public sector, it should be if possible a united action of different sections. Overtime bans, a sliding scale of wages, a sliding scale of public expenditure (to maintain wages and services at their real money value) are all demands that can build and strengthen a public sector alliance and begin a process of increasing

control over the public sector by workers.

Opening the books of Area Health Authorities, Local Education Authorities to the inspection of trade unionists, parent teacher associations, cuts committees and so forth is something the public sector alliance can fight for, to determine allocation of funds and to increase the say and control of workers and users of the public sector.

The building of the public sector alliance will be a long and difficult task, yet it will be a major weapon of working people in saving services. At the same time it can create a movement towards a public service under the control of the broad mass of the people—a workers' health service, a workers' education system, EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE

#### MOTION AT AWA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The AWA commits itself to working for a Public Sector Alliance. The objective of the programme we will fight for in building such an alliance will include—  
**REVERSE THE CUTS**—we will fight for the question of the necessary levels of services

**NO REDUNDANCIES, WORKSHARING ON FULL PAY (A SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS)**

**TO COMBAT UNEMPLOYMENT**—A BAN ON OVERTIME, WITH THE NECESSARY INCREASED MANING WITH NO LOSS OF OVERTIME  
**A NATIONAL MINIMUM WAGE**  
**TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THE SOCIAL CONTRACT**  
**A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES.**

**OPEN THE BOOKS OF ILEAH AND ANAH TO THE INSPECTION OF TRADE UNIONISTS, ITAL COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS etc.**

**A SLIDING SCALE OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURE**—to maintain the level of services at their real money value  
**A TOTAL BAN ON OUTSIDE CONTRACTS**  
**FOR PERMANENT, DELEGATE, LIAISON BODIES TO COORDINATE**

**ALL PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS**—we will fight to make these democratic and to link them to community organisations

**FOR UNITED STRIKE ACTION, AND ALL OTHER APPROPRIATE METHODS AGAINST THE CUTS**—we will expose within the nature of the 'negotiation' from the TU leadership. To this and we will support every work in this direction by NALGO Action and other democratic rank and file bodies.



# SMASH THE SOCIAL CONTRACT- BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

## Trade union bureaucrats to the rescue!

THERE IS probably only one thing that can now save the Government and ensure the acceptance of a third phase of wage restraint – the Trade Union Bureaucracy. By this I don't just mean the full time officials but also the many elected officials at local, regional and national level.

In most unions constitutional machinery exists to consult the membership but this may be easily ignored by unwilling officials. Only those unions with a clear rule or policy on consultation are guaranteed a say although the full-timers can still hamper fair consultation by allowing insufficient time or deliberately choosing a badly worded proposal.

Other unions will have to rely on the integrity of Branch officials. Many of these, particularly in my own union, are right-wing Labour, or worse, and think that the members are of the same persuasion ("After all, they elected me to represent them.") and that there is no need to consult them.

On the other hand are the "left wing officials, often in the Communist Party or the Militant" or "T-burn" factions of the Labour Party. These people tend to have the view, developed through years of paranoia, that the members are reactionary and it is safest not to ask them in the first place ("After all, they elected me to represent them").

**Vociferous**  
The only advice that I can offer these beings is either to listen what their members are saying or to block their ears to all sound, depending on whether or not they want to suffer a massia shock to their particular view of the world.

From my personal experience I can say that members in previously non-militant and even conservative areas are being most vociferously the damage done by the social contract, which in their minds means wage restraint. Indeed it means this to all of us because we've only ever seen one side of the contract in operation.

Whatever happened to the houses,

THE VIRTUALLY unanimous rejection of any continued wage controls at the Brighton conference of the 650,000 strong National Union of Public Employees is a clear pointer to public sector workers' feelings on the Social Contract.

They voted in a motion that condemned pay restraint, demanded a basic minimum of £50, a 35-hour week, and a return to index-linked threshold payments.

Anger was expressed by many delegates over the dramatic fall in the buying power of their wages since the Social Contract came into force.

**Denounce**  
Many sections of workers are firmly opposing any extension of the contract, denouncing it as a massive fraud.

Wage rises have been halted while profits, supposed to have been restrained, have leapt ahead and expenditure on public services such as education and health has been slashed.

It is now staring working people in the face that the Social Contract is a big lie. Instead of spreading the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of both bosses and workers, as it was claimed it would do by holding back prices as well as wages, and maintaining the levels of public services, the working class has been forced to bear the full brunt of the results of the crisis.

**Declare**  
It is clear that by the time negotiations are under way to replace Phase 2, due to end in August, many major groups of workers including the miners and engineers as well as NUPE, will have declared their opposition to it.

Whether the union leaders will oppose it or not is another matter, as Alan Fisher, NUPE General Secretary, made clear at Brighton. He said after the conference that despite the clear vote against wage controls he would continue to negotiate with the government over the terms of Phase 3.

**Pitfalls**  
There are many pitfalls ahead for the working class on the wages front, even if the Social Contract is decisively rejected.

The major of these is the issue of differentialism. Some unions representing relatively better paid sections of workers are opposing the Social Contract on the grounds that it closes the gap between them and the lower paid.

These divisive ideas can only weaken the workers' movement in its fight for better wages. It is vital for militants to fight for demands that don't aim to improve the lot of one worker at the expense of others, but for those that can unite all sections around demands that take the whole movement forward.

All sections of workers need to fight for wage rises, but not as 'special cases' or to 'maintain their positions in the wage league'!

**KITTY**  
A slightly smaller pitfall is that of 'kitty bargaining'.

The idea is that a fixed amount is allotted to individual firms for wage increases, and negotiations take place over the proportion that goes to different groups of workers within the firm.

This would clearly suit the bosses down to the ground, since it leaves workers fighting among themselves over how to divide the increase, rather



Cuts mean that this newly-completed extension to St James Hospital, Portsmouth, will never be used. Photo Andrew Ward (Rear)

## CPSA to take action?

One basic fact has made itself obvious to the leadership of the Civil & Public Services Association (CPSA) – that opposition to public expenditure cuts can only be successful if the rank and file themselves take disciplined, co-ordinated action. A complete lack of information, a series of disastrous regional meetings and finally the withdrawal of industrial action in the face of management threats left even the committed feeling dejected.

## Pressure

Because of pressure from Branches the union has, however, been moving towards joint action with other unions and tentative steps are being made towards forming a Public Sector Alliance. But the members of all public sector unions, including industrial unions with members in the public services, must ensure that such an Alliance does not become a bureaucratic appendage of the union hierarchy or the TUC.

We have too often experienced directives contrary to the interests of the membership being accepted because they are "official". We must dedicate ourselves to building a genuinely democratic Alliance which will have the trust and respect of the members because they have let it up and elected delegates over whom they have control.

At CPSA Annual Conference 1977 the following motion from the South West London Branch of DSSS was overwhelmingly carried: "Conference agrees that the only method of successfully opposing the Public Expenditure Cuts is by employing wide scale industrial action in the Public Sector. Conference therefore agrees to the following industrial action campaign: A complete ban on all overtime that makes staffing deficiencies. A complete ban on any work-sharing that causes present job vacancies not to be filled. A series of selective and National days of action in conjunction with other Public Sector trade unions."

This motion was composed with fifteen other sections from nine different government departments including one, from the Department of Employment – Manchester, which called for "an alliance with Committees of local public sector union branches under the control of elected 'Grass roots' members". This attitude must be extended throughout the labour movement for the presence of rank and file democrats means that there is now a genuine opportunity for the working class to begin to control their own lives.

**Arthur Adams.**

hours of the working day, this theory said that profit was only made in the last hour of the day, the previous 11 hours being spent covering capital costs, wages, etc.) was exploded by the actions of the working class.

SO CAN THE EXHUMED 1977 VERSION.

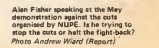
## Disinterrred

The idea of kitty bargaining is really the last desperate argument used by the ruling class a hundred years ago when trying to resist the demands of a newly formed proletariat.

It was claimed that the economic system contained a fixed component for wages, a 'pool' that could not be made larger or smaller. Hence by granting a wage demand from one section of the class automatically meant cutting the wages of another section.

In reality of course it is the balance of class forces, and the level of struggle waged by the working class as a whole, that determines the overall amount of wages paid to the working class.

The 19th century version of the kitty bargaining argument, together with the last hour theory (used against demands for reducing the



Alan Fisher speaking at the May demonstration against the cuts organised by NUPE. He is trying to use the vote or halt the fight back. Photo Andrew Ward (Rear)

**LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM** has, as yet, become a major influence inside the working class and revolutionary movements. Yet at the same time, the Anarchist Workers Association remains one of the few organisations that is attempting a radical re-evaluation of Anarchist attitudes towards revolutionary organisations.

Confronting this policy to day-to-day struggle.

In our development over the last few years, we have moved away from 'traditional' anarchist concepts. We realise that the result of some of these ideas in the past has been devastation from the struggle.

We have overcome our fear of other left groups and realised that it is possible to work with them in campaigns, provided there is a clear minimum agreement among those participating.

Indeed, we have agreed within the organisation that such united front work is vital given the weakness of the revolutionary left, and the need to fight the attacks on the living standards of the working class.

It is not surprising that the progressive development of these attitudes should result in a reaction from some members of the organisation. They said that they had become embarrassed asking *anarchist* principles with its Marxist fellow-traveller content.

By May 1977, this situation had become impossible, with no real meeting ground for the views of the two sides. As a result of the expulsions decided on at that Conference, we think that both sides will be able to develop.

The above was written by two members of the editorial board of *Anarchist Worker* who supported the policies of the majority within the organisation.

At the first 1977 AWA National Conference, two opposed groups continued to pursue their different roads, two roads that did not, unfortunately, not parallel but in barely opposing directions.

Readers of *Anarchist Worker* may not have detected this divergence, or, even if they have done so, will not have been aware of the damage that it is doing to all comrades in the organisation.

One group conceded prior to the Conference that, should their proposals be policies be in the minority, they would leave the AWA.

In the event they were the majority group and therefore felt that in a point of principle for the other group to withdraw. This was declined.

Because of the article that appeared within the organisation and because the organisation could not prevent withdrawal policies while there was a group committed to preventing this, a motion was passed expelling this group.

The decision was not taken lightly and many comrades felt reluctant to take a decision that went against their long-held libertarian beliefs. Nevertheless such action was necessary to ensure the continuation of a viable libertarian communist presence within the labour movement.

We extend our best wishes to our former comrades and wish them success in such constructive work as they may be undertaking.

The above was written by Arthur Adams who took an independent position at Conference in relation to the two groupings but who left, as a committed trade union activist that the organisational policies advanced at Conference were correct at this time of attack on the labour movement and the working class by the international capitalist conspiracy, bureaucratic trade union leadership and capitalist Labour politicians.

swast and resources into united fronts for increased efficiency.

As well as discussions on women and Ireland and various resolutions presented to the conference the following day was designed to allow discussion on the SSA programme and internal structure.

## Crippling

Perhaps this was the weakest part of the whole conference since the discussion on both these vital issues was totally inadequate because of the crippling lack of time. It was rather hurriedly agreed that the national conference should elect annually a steering committee of six plus the SSA members of NUS executive (of which there are at present two - Lewis Davis and Colin Talbot). In addition, a further ten people should be elected who, together with the Steering Committee should form a National Committee.

The emphasis of the Steering Committee should form a National Committee. The emphasis of the Steering Committee will be more practical, dealing with the day to day working of the SSA and the production of the paper 'Socialist Student'.

The National Conference will meet between conferences to oversee the work of the Steering Committee and when necessary take interim measures on behalf of the SSA (e.g. campaigns) although of course such measures would have to be ratified at the next national conference.

Elections then took place in which two members of the libertarian current were placed on the National Committee. One of them saw their major task as "ensuring that power and right of initiative remained firmly in the hands of the SSA and did not drift into the National Committee and then the Steering Committee".

## Forward

Discussion on the SSA programme did not take place at all due to lack of time. Many contributors expressed dissatisfaction over this, and most others agreed that this had been the major flaw in the conference which would have to be rectified in the next national conference in October. In accordance with this priority was given to a thorough discussion of internal structure and the SSA programme at this next conference.

Despite its shortcomings, this conference represented a step in the right direction - towards united front work in the revolutionary left.

However it is not at conferences that the SSA will prove itself capable of fighting capitalist attacks and bringing the student body to a revolutionary perspective, but through the work of its active militants in the months and years ahead.

In the Saturday evening session interesting discussions arose from contributions on the subject of working class strategy by shopfloor stewards. Again the theme was the necessity for unity among the revolutionary left.

## Awakening

All the speakers noted that movements were at last taking place within the body of the working class after years of apathetic slumber caused by the drug of social democracy.

Capitalism is failing to deliver the goods either in providing a sufficient and secure material standard of life or in creating the conditions necessary to allow the emotional fulfillment and happiness of the mass of people.

The break with social democracy, the Labour Party and indeed the trade union bureaucracy is developing.

For example thousands of workers recently shouted down Jack Jones with chants of 'fuck the Rat' and 'go home you bum!' for his involvement in the Social Contract.

It is at this critical point that revolutionary left organisations must use their militants to redouble their efforts in carrying revolutionary perspectives into the class. But the revolutionary left is weak and it is in such circumstances that there is a compelling necessity to combine

## LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS NETWORK

THE FOURTH conference of the Libertarian Students Network took place on the weekend of March 18/19 at the North East London Polytechnic, at that time in occupation against the Labour government's cuts in education and the social services.

Scheduling the conference for this weekend created a disruptive clash with the Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Law demonstration on the Saturday. Most people went on this, and the conference finally got under way, with about forty people present, on Sunday 19.

Conference commenced with a stormy discussion on what structure and aims and priorities the L.S.N. should adopt - an important question which had remained unresolved despite the examples of the three prior conferences to come to some agreement.

A set of proposals written from a freely libertarian communist viewpoint was advanced in relation to this issue. The proposals described the libertarian movement in this country as existing in "a state of chronic stagnation" largely due to "a lack of self-discipline and organisation". Emphasised was the need to build an organised libertarian communist current within the student movement and the class as a whole.

To achieve this, discussion would need to take place among militant leaders with the view of working towards a common tactical line which would define the movement's strategic direction. Precinct measures designed to achieve this objective were outlined in the proposals.

## Decay

Traditional anarchists attacked this proposal as a betrayal of anarchist principle and claimed that small, local, autonomous groups should be doing what they felt to be important in their own areas, and only use the L.S.N. to exchange ideas and information, and where possible co-ordinate.

Not Communist, member of the network and a member of the A.W.A. student committee, had this to say: "If the way in which the traditional anarchists prevail then the L.S.N. will be doomed to follow other extremist organisations" such as the Anarchist Federation of Britain and the Confrontation of British Anarchists into the outside of political experience, decay and extinction. As libertarians we must learn from the errors of our fellow movements in the past, which the responsible for our present state of disorganisation and confusion.

A consensus of opinion was taken on the proposals, and although many seemed undecided it was deemed that the proposals should be accepted. The L.S.N. would meet again at some time.

## Weakness

The paper noted the striking resemblance between the L.S.N. and the

inches in the concepts and forms of organisation of the fascists and the traditional anarchist movement. Both believe in small, informal, comradely autonomous groupings, involving themselves only in local issues.

With respect, we have that the similarities the fascist movement has with traditional anarchism represent a weakness and not a strength. Why try to justify this low stage of organisational development by declaring it out in ideological confusion? The hope that such a stage is only a transitory one as the class, at present divided and confused, comes to recognize the need for organisation and unity.

We hope that this unity will develop around a common programme which will aim at confrontation with capitalism, and it's revolutionary overthrow, and the establishment of a libertarian communist society.

## United Front

Perhaps the most optimistic and promising development from the conference was the formation of a group of militant libertarians who are in favour of organising and working as a libertarian unit within the newly formed Socialist Students Alliance (S.S.A.).

Although an S.S.A. initiative, this alliance offers all revolutionaries a chance to form a united front. A united front against the Broad Left (an alliance of libertarians and Communist) which has dominated the N.U.S. for the last eight years, and so often betrayed student militancy.

A united front against the bourgeois educational system with its inherent class bias, sexism and racism, and also linked with other militant sections of the class, a united front against the whole capitalist horror show.

## Future

It is hoped that this move to work within the S.S.A. would bring libertarians out of the "periphery" and into the real world of political struggle.

It is a first step to create a sound libertarian communist current within the student movement, and to begin to discuss, while fighting alongside other revolutionaries, common objectives.

This libertarian current is now working at creating a "platform" to use as a developing theoretical base and as a source of direct practice.

The A.W.A. urged all its student members, contacts and sympathisers to work within the S.S.A. for a united revolutionary front and the creation of a libertarian communist current.

## Dave Higgins

For information on the S.S.A. contact: Andy Hume, 9 Westbourne Rd., Edgware, Middlesex HA8 7JH. Tel: 021 404 2000.

For information on the Libertarian current contact the secretary: A. Macdonald, 21 Heston Rd, Manchester M13 9JL. Tel: 061 234 3028.

## Students forge alliance

APPROXIMATELY 130 student militants from all over the country gathered in Birmingham Polytechnic on the weekend of April 30th for the first national and founding conference of the Socialist Students Alliance. This alliance is based round the following objectives:

1. To fight for unity in the NUS of those forces on the left who want to see the mass of student to an alternative socialist perspective to that of the present Broad Left leaders and combat the growth of right-wing influences amongst students.
2. To build a mass united NUS linked in action to the mass organisations of the working class and other oppressed people in society.
3. To base left unity on joint initiatives, in the campaigns around the key issues facing students, in the union's national structures and conferences and in the electoral field at all levels.

After a delay due to late arrival of participants the conference commenced on the Saturday afternoon with opening speeches from Tariq Ali on racism and fascism. He pointed to the threat from fascist parties such as the National Front and the National Party - a threat which will continue to grow as the capitalist economic crisis worsens.

The way forward in this crucial fight was through a united front of all forces on the left involved in anti-fascist work and not by sectarian attitudes and initiatives.

On the following day this feeling was formulated in a successful motion to conference by comrades in the libertarian current which urged all SSA students to work within united front anti-fascist committees and to take an initiative in their formation where no body exists.

## Broad Left

Charles Clarke, this year's outgoing National Union of Students President gave a short speech on the Broad Left's perspective and suggested that the SSA should cooperate with this grouping of which Clarke is a member. For eight years now the Broad Left (an alliance between the Labourites and Communists in the student movement) have dominated NUS and the mass of individual student unions.

Because of their reformist policies they have totally failed to mount effective defensive campaigns against the government's vicious attacks on the working class as a whole.

Indeed they have often acted in a counter-productive fashion in order to keep a face of 'respectability'. For example in last summer's enthusiastic (poung) of occupations against teacher unemployment they failed in their function of coordination by not building links with militant teachers to demand that the NUT implement its own policy of limiting class sizes to 30.

This measure would have created thousands of jobs for unemployed teachers. But the Broad Left are incapable of taking any action that will alienate it from the trade union bureaucracy.

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The world anarchist press and some of the 'classy' bosses papers have been heralding the news that in Spain, after 40 years of fascism, the anarchist trade union the National Labour Confederation (CNT) is rising like a meteor.

On Sunday, March 27 there were two rallies in Madrid. One was the legal meeting of the Socialist Party Labourists that is. The meeting was supported by all the Parties of the left—maos, Trotskyists, communists etc. The other was organised by the CNT and was illegal. According to reports they took in around something like 10,000 people.

This is significant because Madrid itself was under a very strict law for the CNT.

Accompanying this news are all sorts of uncritical comments—ie if the CNT 'exposed the irrelevance of most of the rest of the world anarchist movement'.

Because the CNT is used as a mystical justification for their own claims, anarchists are usually careful not to criticise the CNT (see especially *Freedom*).

The worst response is a deliberate distortion of history to make the CNT look even better—the most recent *Black Flag* has an article which says: 'How few knew that the Francoists were initially beaten in Spain by the workers of the CNT union, who went on to put a workers militia on the front while collectivising into anarcho-syndicalist locals the industry and agriculture of Catalonia and Aragon, only to be stabbed in the back by Liberal-Communist republican regime in Madrid?'

The answer to this long rhetorical question is that damned few know this because it's only half true. The failure of the Spanish Revolution in 1936-7 is due as much to the weakness of the CNT as

The Spanish CNT is an illegal organisation, banned since General Franco seized power. Even so, it has 20,000 paid up members, according to sources inside Spain, and figures published in *Front Liberaire*.

Having successfully participated in strikes at Roca (see last AWP), Ford's, in the construction industry and having made limited progress in organising proletarian teachers in their probationary years, it has now decided to become more public. This is in the face of likely arrests and violence from the far Right.

Their paper is now printed in Spain—it used to be printed in France and taken across the border back into Spain—and sells 40,000 copies per month. A publishing house has been started called 'Campo Abierto' or 'Open Pastures'. It is bringing out a series of pamphlets and books.

to the machinations of the liberals and steelists. If a boxer said that he'd lost because the men that he knew were his opponents and hit him this wouldn't tell us much about the fight, and it wouldn't be much guidance to those of us having to fight this same enemy.

Spain is once again the key as it was forty years ago. The problems in Spain—how to make the revolution, how to safeguard it, the struggle of the state against the revolution of the last two years in Portugal. The collapse of fascism in Spain and a tide of working-class initiative, factories, farms, housing, transport. In every field the working class began to create a society of producers of equals. Around all this the various forces of 'order' strove to reestablish the power of Capital.

The socialists under Soler with the

end of European Labour Parties and CIA money fought to rebuild liberal democratic capitalism.

The Communist Party under Gual told to build a state capitalist regime.

Both attacked workers' initiatives when they fell strong enough, intimidated and confined it at other points. In Portugal today the situation is still unresolvable.

Despite the fact that most of the revolutionary groups have been backing the Socialist Party or the Communist Party, the workers' working class itself made giant steps towards a self-managed socialist society while fighting a successful campaign of action to reestablish the power of Capital.

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the LGT (national trade union) stormed barracks, police stations, and other centres of the company, which the anarchists attempted to negotiate an 'honourable settlement' with the state.

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The CNT itself played a key role in institutionalising and demoralising the



CNT international relations worker Joan E.



Student militant and CNT member August R.



Steel Union National Committee member

# WE FIGHT FOR WORKERS' POWER IN SPAIN

CNT militant since 1934—Pedro B. and the factories seized and reorganised by the workers. (See the new book *The Impossible Revolution* by Phil Meier, £2.25 from Solidarity, 123 Letchford Road, London SE6.)

For the reason we look at this history of previous fights to end the problems of central parties. Our criticisms of the CNT of forty years ago are made to strengthen the CNT of today, to radicalise the international libertarian communist movement for its future victories.

4. This cooperation in mismanagement led quite regularly to the participation of the CNT leadership in the reconstituted government of the Republic (these were the anarchist ministers of Prisons, Health, and Commerce). They were really just hostages by this time but their presence was a 'half cover' to the dismantling of the gains made by the working class in Aragon and Catalonia.

1. The military rising of July 1936 against the left liberal Spanish Republic was defeated by the action of the working class in large areas of Spain. Unarmed or poorly armed the workers of the CNT and

Q. Isn't it possible that the anarchist movement may be reborn?

A. No, it is finished, as is the case everywhere; that is an irreversible fact. Small groups may continue to exist, like those in Barcelona . . .

From *Dialogue on Spain*, interviews with Santiago Carrillo, leader of the Spanish Communist Party. Published by Lawrence and Wishart, paperback £2.

Carrillo deliberately distorts history and present events in this book. Unfortunately for this unscrupulous trick, who is now smuggling up to the government, and whose party contributed greatly towards the defeat and mistreatment of the working class in the Civil War, events have proved him wrong.

Events too, it is hoped, will sweep the Spanish Communist Party off the field of struggle between the bosses and the working people.

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The Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists was written by a group of anarchists who had participated in the Russian revolution and the ensuing civil war.

They attempted to communicate their experiences and what they had learnt to the international anarchist movement, stressing the need for disciplined anarchist organisation, built on and relating to the working class.

The Platform was severely attacked by the anarchist 'celebrities' almost without exception, who saw the formation of a structured anarchist organisation as a threat to the inalienable rights of the individual.

This historical document has been re-evaluated, and has been instrumental in the development of organised class anarchism in the 1970s.

To obtain a copy, send a cheque/PO for 20p + 7p p&h made out to 'AWA General Fund' to: AWA, 12 Colman Street, Hull, Humberside.

AWA gives critical but friendly reserving the right to criticise as AWA opens the pages of its anarcho-syndicalism.

movement. It agreed to set up 'revolutionary committee' which were made up of representatives of the parties and the union hierarchies. These were not democratic organs of workers power—which are always based on the factories and ensure that the working class does in electing delegates and mandating them.

These committees were

multi-parliaments. In one area where the CP represented most militantly at all, the CNT would give them some seats in the hope that in another case the CNT would return the favour.

3. The CNT accepted the CP and Liberal left arguments that 'first we defeat the revolt then we can create a 'barricade society'.

This led to the reorganisation capitalist parties taking part in the committees. It led to the dismantling of those areas of socialism that had been created. Usually the CP played the

hatchet man, the CNT kept quiet and 'cowed' 'moderate'—all this to please their liberal allies in the Republic and so as not to 'shock' foreign governments.

4. This cooperation in mismanagement led quite regularly to the participation of the CNT leadership in the reconstituted government of the Republic (these were the anarchist ministers of Prisons, Health, and Commerce). They were really just hostages by this time but their presence was a 'half cover' to the dismantling of the gains made by the working class in Aragon and Catalonia.

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# What's wrong with NALGO?

NALGO (The National and Local Government Officers Association) now has over 600,000 members and is Britain's 4th largest union. Despite this huge membership, little is known about Nalگو by many other trade unions and precious little is known about Nalگو's often arcane structures and policies by its own rank and file members.

Indeed, it is only in very recent years that the "rank and file" have meant anything in Nalگو at all — for the union was certainly not founded by (or for) the average worker in local government. Nalگو is the creation of the senior or chief officers in local government. The history of the organisation is a history of transition — accelerated in the present epoch — from professional association to trade union.

To any Nalگو member of even a few years' standing the changes have been scarcely staggering. It took Nalگو nearly 50 years before it felt able, after much gibbering about "professionalism" and "getting involved with politics", to join the TUC. Since then, to the accompaniment of constant attacks from the well organised and vocal Nalگو Right Wingers, the union has developed organisational forms that begin to look like a "real" trade union, recall writing an article in Tribune in 1972, in which I used the words — "a real trade union" — under the headline "The Nalگو Revolution". That hope that Nalگو was changing fast was premature and optimistic as events have shown.

Nonetheless, Nalگو has groped and staggered in its very towards becoming a major industrial force for life, as yet, more in the promise than the fact) and it could yet develop as a major political force.

Nalگو is not unique among public service and white collar unions in that it organises both bosses and workers (i.e., a majority of British headmasters are in the NUT) but it probably displays a greater reflection of its organisational tendency than other unions.

I can recall being a member of a Nalگو branch where, by tradition, the incumbent Tony Clark had been elected — unopposed — as branch chairman every year of the branch's existence. The only position that the venerable guests annually assembled were prepared to concede to a radical candidate was branch representative on the Youth Hostels Association.

## Masonic

It is still the case that, formally at any rate, the non-office holding ordinary duty paying Joe and Jenny Soaps of Nalگو are allowed to attend only one general meeting a year — the branch AGM. It is here that officials are elected and the whole affair is conducted with great pomp and ceremony. It is hardly surprising that on these reverential occasions, with their Masonic atmosphere of regalia and procedure (the more inane branches still insist on the chairman wearing ribbons and medals around his neck), resolutions on such mundane matters as wages and conditions are regarded as akin to farting in church.

Radicals in Nalگو have attempted to extend the avenues of expression open to the ordinary member by using Nalگو's rule book which clearly allows for "special" general meetings to be called — usually by a stated number of signatures by members on a requisition. This, however, can be a very dangerous procedure.

Although repeated Nalگو conferences have condemned the practice, the local bureaucrats insist on those calling a general meeting putting

down a cash deposit before the meeting, which can be forfeited as the meeting decides. This has been used to defeat militants.

In the Derbyshire local government branch, after members of the rank and file Nalگو Action Group had called a special general meeting on an attempt to stop the branch secretary using the union's communication system to circulate literature on behalf of an out and out Right Winger in the NEC elections, the meeting voted to forfeit the £5 deposit after the branch deadlock had been wheeled out to defeat the radicals.

At the succeeding AGM, packed to the roof with departmental directors and their bodies, the deposit was increased to £100. There are said to be branches where you'd have to take out a second mortgage to hold a general meeting!

Nonetheless, the habit of holding general meetings is spreading. Along with this, has gone the growth of a shop steward system. Again, this is coming into being in a very patchy and often badly organised way — but it's there. As with any advance Nalگو's history, the development of shop stewards has been fought by the union's vociferous and numerous Right Wingers.

One of the reactionaries who had grabbed the most national publicity — co-author of the Daily Mail — has been former NEC member John Fraser who along with other elements of the union's leadership has been involved in Colonel "Round up a few pickets" String's parasitoid GB75 and its trade union offshoot Traded (see April AIV).

## Nagging

Every month the union newspaper carries letters from members of the Fraser Klan. "Why don't we stop arguing about strikes, Chile, South Africa, abortion, etc.", write these reactionaries, "and stick to what Nalگو is supposed to be about — wages and conditions". The answer to this insidious doctrine is that the Nalگو Right has never been terribly worried about wages and conditions. However, this nagging is having a certain effect among the less politically developed Nalگو members.

In Nalگو, growth towards that "real trade union" is very much the question of two steps forward, one step back. The union has miserably allowed "political", in the sense of corporate observations on public issues of the day and discreet pie-in-the-sky parliamentary lobbying. Which brings us to the question of Labour Party affiliation.

Officially, the main rank and file ratee Nalگو in Nalگو — the Nalگو Action Group — is committed to Labour Party affiliation for the union. There is a separate campaign for Nalگو affiliation to the Labour Party. For the militants of NALGO, LP affiliation is presently a black number. However, within the branches, especially the big urban ones, it will increasingly become an issue. It is not something that can easily be resolved by resort to ultra-leftist slogans.

To a large extent, all that the militants of the revolutionary left can do, as the Nalگو "centre" and Trotskyists such as the Militant group and the IMG push LP adherence, is to point out that the balance of marginal improvements in the position of local government workers can be expected from the move and warn the membership as best we can not to expect the wondrous results that the Labourites will promise after all, TUC membership has brought, of itself, little benefit and costs too much to focus on our longer term goal of building the self confidence and the self organised activity of the rank and file.

It is especially important that we do not fall back on ultra left or traditional anarchist shibboleths in this situation (thereby leaving ourselves open to the old Stalinist joke that the ultra left is usually to be found "objectively" lined up with the ultra right).

THE CONFERENCE was attended by over 200 delegates from health service trade unions, from everywhere from Glasgow to Portsmouth.

In the first session Penny Simons from Manchester said we all know about 'the cuts' and the big one day events; what we must find out about are the little things people fight on.

Big token demos are a start but they don't have any results; things are achieved by putting on constant pressure.

Other speakers described the threats to even the most complacent hospitals, and what is being done about it.

At present, any worker leaving the NHS after more than two years is entitled to repayment of superannuation money they have paid.

After 1978 this will be abolished if under retirement age. The way things are going at present, this will be just in time for the NHS to collapse without costing too much in redundancy payments.

The NALGO executive gave in to a court injunction obtained by right-wingers not to call its members out on the March 8th Clydeside demonstration — despite this several local branches took unofficial action but the bulk of the 10,000 strong demo was mobilised by NUPE and other unions.

Mobilised, that is by the efforts of rank and file militants in the unions. The officials can permit actions but it's up to us to take the small immediate problems, like rising milk prices in the canteens, auxiliaries being asked to carry out trained nurses work, and to show how union organisation can solve them — and how the major long term problems are connected and can be solved in a similar approach.

The cuts affect the whole community, and so all need to fight for the NHS, including industrial workers.

## Support

To save Action Hospital from closure, the NHS joint shop stewards committee took bulletins and collection sheets into the factories and asked workers, winning the support of many local industrial trade unions for job-byeing the NHS area management team, performing, and promising him in any other action by the hospital workers.

The Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, kept open under occupation since November 15, has been supported on the picket line by local trades councils and AUEW, TGMU and other local union branches as well as by the NHS unions and women's groups.

A message that came across clearly from all these accounts and more of working to rule, one day strikes, or even just asserting the presence of an

central committee and (b) they were morally blackmailed by supporters of the policy, who accused them of lining up with the Right in supporting Nalگو's "non-political" trade unionism.

For the militants of NALGO, LP affiliation is presently a black number. However, within the branches, especially the big urban ones, it will increasingly become an issue. It is not something that can easily be resolved by resort to ultra-leftist slogans.

To a large extent, all that the militants of the revolutionary left can do, as the Nalگو "centre" and Trotskyists such as the Militant group and the IMG push LP adherence, is to point out that the balance of marginal improvements in the position of local government workers can be expected from the move and warn the membership as best we can not to expect the wondrous results that the Labourites will promise after all, TUC membership has brought, of itself, little benefit and costs too much to focus on our longer term goal of building the self confidence and the self organised activity of the rank and file.

It is especially important that we do not fall back on ultra left or traditional anarchist shibboleths in this situation (thereby leaving ourselves open to the old Stalinist joke that the ultra left is usually to be found "objectively" lined up with the ultra right).

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# HEALTH WORKERS

active union, was that when workers discover a threat to their jobs in time, they want to fight.

If they fight themselves, go and seek union official support and outside support, but rely on their own efforts, then, the chances are they'll win.

But often they don't find out till it's too late, or believe management's assurances that "it's only an idea" or "it's up to union officials until it's too late."

In the last three years over 100 hospitals have been threatened with closure, and only four or so kept open — by the mass action of their workers.

In West Yorkshire many members only heard of official organisation the night before, but over 6000 still came out.

The NHS was still advertising abroad for foreign workers. But now applications for the renewal of work permits are being refused — workers are threatened with the sack or no renewal unless the colour of their skin or country of birth.

Student nurses work on low pay to get qualifications only recognised in this country — and are then told they can't work here, despite a "shortage of nurses" which is blamed for empty wards.

In Brent this policy was successfully challenged and a promise of a job and a permit for all who pass their exams this year obtained.

## Unity

A strong rank and file movement is needed to spread the work and win on issues that Drain, Fisher, Jenkins and the other TU leaders only talk about.

National activity is also essential because it is the government — which is orchestrating the cuts demanded by big business and the IMF — individual Area Health Authorities can only be pushed to the limit.

There is a more fundamental issue — we must go beyond the defensive, and realise that even if every out was restored there would still be not enough health facilities, not in the right places, in a top-heavy organisation.

The fight against the cuts and for better working conditions is also the fight against the social contract, the

full cry. The bureaucracy on these occasions inevitably exposes itself. To concentrate exclusively on "unofficial" activities is to leave this position ignored and unchanged.

Sometimes the programmes and emphases of these "Marxist" begin to look like old fashioned syndicalism with Trotsky's specialise on long term change in Nalگو — in the direction of a more "open" union, the growth of shop stewards as an effective part of branch structure, of development of a politically aware membership that can be won for revolutionary socialism, of an extension of every possible occasion of a true democratic administration for the union, etc., — will not be won by reliance on the worn out Dad's Army who seek affiliation to the Labour Party and a place in the parliamentary sun for Nalگو's smoothies.

Revolutionary goals will equally not be won by a smokescreen of adventurist lust after ephemeral union activities and organisation. They will be won by planning, and by thinking, and by building rank and file groups, while politics will always be integral to their work and very much on the agenda, while develop in complex and organic relationship to the local government workforce and will not be Tom Tiddler's ground for the backs of the traditional left.

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lan S. Sutherland







# Anarchist Worker

## THIS BATTLE MUST BE WON!

Each day that passes intensifies the need for the working class to win the battle at Grunwick film processing factory. As we go to press, the strike is entering its 47th week. The Grunwick management, which has a long anti-trade union tradition, sacked over a 100 striking workers after they joined the union APEX.

Just as at British Home Stores, Trust House Forte and Office Cleaning Services, workers have seen how they must forever fight anew for rights that had been won over centuries of struggle.

But unlike these other disputes this year, Grunwick has shocked the entire trade union movement through the involvement of the ultra-right and the brutality of the police.

### Neglect

The upper layers of the trade union bureaucracy moved into the issue from the start, an unusual event. There were two reasons for this. Firstly, rank and file outrage at the sweatshop conditions and a determination to reverse the neglect by the TU movement of the plight of women and black workers. Secondly, trade union leaders see this as a test of the Labour government. The Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service (ACAS) set up by Labour has been flatteringly rejected by Grunwick boss George Ward. So serious did

they take this that Len Murray made available TUC funds for APEX to carry on with this very expensive dispute. Compare that with the total inaction of the TUC at Trust House Forte and elsewhere. UPW leader Tom Jackson took the unprecedented step of selective postal boycott.

Ward has gone beyond refusing to cooperate with ACAS. He is taking ACAS to court for upholding the justice of the workers' case. Since the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs, trade unionists have always been victimised by the courts. Murray, Grantham and other TU leaders know what this means for them—there has not been so serious a threat to their positions since the Industrial Relations Act.

### 'Soft'

The ultra-right has chosen Grunwick as the battle ground to strike a major blow against the TU movement. The National Association for Freedom (so called) stepped in early on giving "advice at a price." In the words of John Gournet, NAFF has

been the main force behind the Grunwick management. Whereas the government has forced the burden of the crisis on the working class by "soft" methods (the Social Contract), the ultra-right want to even "harder" measures against the class. To this end they are out to smash the union.

NAFF has shown its sincerity for freedom when it took out a court injunction against our UPW comrades exercising their right to support the strike, when they stopped the boycott of mail to that glorious land of freedom South Africa and through other countless court cases against trade unionists. Supported by freedom fighters like reactionary MPs Rhodes Boyson and Winston Churchill, Brian Crozier, one-time manager of a CIA front organisation, and Viscount de L'Isle, who daily exercises his freedom to exploit workers, NAFF is determined to defeat even a "moderate" T. Unionist like Grantham.

### Vicious

If the vicious attacks upon the Right To Work marchers and the frame up of the Lushington 24 had not proven the reactionary role of the police force, then the behaviour of the police and the notorious Special Patrol Group at Grunwick can leave



Police force back pickets to allow the south's bus to enter the factory. In the background are Soviet Group Pickets. Photo Andrew Ward (Report)

no shred of doubt. The 200 arrests, including a peacemaker and a TV cameraman, and the injuries dealt show how the determined police chiefs are to make the force an efficient strike breaking unit.

It is clear from the enthusiasm of most of the cops that they have turned their backs on their own class.

Mervyn Dais' predictable support for the police methods is an indication to trade unionists that this Labour government is more concerned with keeping the police image respectable than supporting the most basic right of workers. After all, who knows when the Labour government will need a strike breaking force again, as it did against the Glasgow Dustmen?

Socialists have always said that the police and the army are instruments of ruling class power. In the case of Grunwick there is additional evidence of physical links between police and bosses. Chief Inspector Johnson has taken up a job at Grunwick and Robert Mark has been recently employed by Viscount de L'Isle.

Whereas the union bureaucrats have backed down in face of the opposition, rank and file workers are relying round the strikers.

When Grantham, scared by the power of workers on the street and very to maintain his respectable face with the bosses and government, called for the picket to be limited to 500, the strikers' committee replied by demanding that the picket be stopped.

After Jackson backed down from the postal boycott, the London District Council of the UPW voted for the boycott to be restarted. Despite threats from the Post Office and Jackson, that boycott continues.

The picket has been swelled by delegations from wide sections of the working class wishing to show their solidarity—miners, engineers, doctors, squatters and women's groups.

The strikers must be supported more strongly than ever before. Get your union branch to donate to the

strikers' fund. Batter still, get a delegation to the picket. Boycott all goods to and from the factory.

The history of workers' struggles show, as at Sallay's colliery in 1972, that peaceful and successful pickets are only possible when the workers show their real strength.

With united forces the working class can bring Ward and his "hard" anti-working class supporters to their knees.

And with this experience of struggle and the confidence of victory that the class has lacked since it brought the Tory government down, we may turn on the "soft" anti-working class forces in the government.

Let the slogan at the picket line be our watchword:

**THE WORKERS, UNITED, WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!**

Ken Hartwell

### LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST REVIEW

Libertarian Communist Review is the theoretical journal of the AWA. The second issue, out now, contains articles on — the role of the revolutionary organisation — tracing the development of communist thought from primitive times — a translation from the French on Bakunin, one of the founders of the anarchist movement, which attempts to dispel many misconceptions created by both his enemies and those who claimed to be his followers — and reviews.

We regard the appearance of the Review as important for the development of libertarian communism.

REVIEW is not intended to be a magazine for mass-produced dogma. We intend to look at the history and theory of the anarchist and libertarian communist movement in a critical way. We hope to examine the flaws and inadequacies in the writings of the most noted libertarian socialist thinkers, and we intend to conduct a critical reappraisal of Marx and Marxist thinkers, and of the theory and practice of left communist and movements that run parallel with the anarchist movement.

Copies of the LCR are available 20p + 7p from AWA, 13 Colman St., Hull. Bulk orders welcome.

Movement Against A Monarchy announces the first three of a series of stickers to celebrate Jubilee year. Tensitally designed (in red, white and blue in some cases), they are available for 1p a sticker including postage — minimum order 25p. The stickers — a convenient tongue-width size — are produced on high-quality, uncoated paper.

Once up they're extremely difficult to remove, rather like some of the latest stickers. MAAM hopes to encourage and stimulate anti-Jubilee activities by groups around the country — but we are not distributing national organising groups. Apart from supplying materials, our own activities will be initially confined to the London area. However, we hope that similar groups elsewhere will get in touch and exchange ideas. Contact: MOVEMENT AGAINST A MONARCHY, Box 140, 105 S. Colindale Ave., London N1.

We say — Ye MAAM, No Me'm!



Police arrest Vy Hahn, UGATT convenor of Camden's Dover Labour campaign, on the first day of the mass picket. 200 of Camden's builders, engaged at his arrest, joined him on the picket line later in the week. Photo Andrew Ward (Report)

### 'PICKETS ON RAMPAGE HORROR'

(AN EYE WITNESS ACCOUNT BY OUR CORRESPONDENT JIM PARTALL) I watched the dispute at Grunwick from my seat in Finch's Wine Bar. I was in witness to unprecedented scenes of violence caused by a small, tightly-knit conspiracy of several thousand Trade Unionists.

I saw a group of thugs deliberately provoke our wonderful forces of law and order. One man started hitting his head against a policeman's truncheon, inciting others to join in. When our marvellous bobbies stood up to this, several pickets went for the policeman's boots with their points.

The women were particularly vicious. Several of them threw their hair into policeman's hands, and when the police tried to walk away, the women lay on the ground and dragged themselves behind the police.

Other pickets pulled police onto their stomachs and wouldn't let go until they got a free ride in a black Maria.

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## As profits and shares rise, we demand:

**THE SOCIAL Contract is dead but its corpse still stalks the trade union movement.**

The most serious danger for the movement is fragmentation which will pave the way for a massive defeat of the working class.

The threat comes from what is Phase III of the social contract in all but name—the 10% limit and the 12 month rule.

At the TUC congress in Blackpool in September there were two tendencies. Men like Murray, Jones and Scamlon, who built the old social contract, argued successfully for the 12 month rule and the 10% limit.

Their opponents, led by men like Olive Jenkins, were really only united around one issue, the need to return to free collective bargaining to restore differentials. The right wing won, largely thanks to Scamlon's total disregard for

the needs of the rank and file. The remnants of the social contract, clearly going against a mandate from his own National Committee.

Already many workers have shown their contempt for the rule by ignoring it—at Heinz, Nabisco, Wilson's Brewery and elsewhere.

But there are hidden dangers in simply rejecting the rule without a clear programme of action for the movement as a whole, the dangers of allowing divisions among workers, in particular for those with weaker organisation and between public and private employees.

### Contract

The Social Contract was sold to the rank and file on the understanding that unemployment would be halted and public services would not be cut.

Instead unemployment has risen to over 1.6 million, we've had more cuts than under the Tories and real wages have fallen by over 10%.

Despite this, the TUC bureaucrats were able to sell phase II on the argument that things would have been worse otherwise.

Both times they took the bosses' side and blamed the crisis on the workers: high wages eating into profits and raising prices and high public expenditure draining investment and causing inflation.

### Crisis

In *Anarchist Worker* October 76, we rejected all such analyses.

We said: "The crisis is not confined to Britain: it is worldwide." "The falling rate of profit is a tendency built into the capitalist system."

"The capitalists own the machines and plants; they hire workers at a fraction of the value workers produce and so make their profits."

"A stage is reached where the value extracted from the worker is not large enough to invest in more machines and plants to keep up their profits."

"This stage is the crisis."

The crisis is being paid for by the working class.

Already many major companies like Parsons (which has sacked over 1,800 workers) are announcing record profits.

But the Leyland toolworkers, the Heathrow engineers and the rank and file of many unions like NUPE have made it clear that they are not prepared to accept another year of wage controls.

Scared of their own positions, the TUC bureaucrats refused a new wage limit.

Instead the new policy will allow the bosses to divide the movement and avoid paying increases to workers for people to maintain their standard of living to all but a few well-heeled executives.

Struggles over differentials and "special cases" do little to help or mobilise those sections with less fighting experience, or the lowest paid or those already on the dole.

What's more, they may well isolate such struggles and permit the bosses to alienate them from other workers.

**Demands**

What we must fight for are demands that will unite the entire working class.

We must fight for wages to be brought up to 1973 levels, before inflation accelerated; we are all hit by rises in food, fuel and rent.

We must fight for a minimum national wage for everybody, whether employed or not; we all have the right to a human standard of living.

We must fight for a cut in the working week, with no loss of pay; force the bosses to employ more workers.

We must fight for real rises in pensions, disability payments etc. for all workers that capitalism throws onto the slagheap.

Most of all we must protect against future erosions by fighting for all these to be indexed against inflation.

**Alliance**

Neither limited sectional struggles win back some of the greatest losses we have suffered—cuts in social services.

The public sector will be a major battle ground for the government.

# LESS HOURS- MORE PAY!



Jack Jones, Alex Kitson and Moss Evans confer at Blackpool TUC conference. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

is more than a struggle for the quality of life for all the working class.

This struggle will become harder with the new policy; more than ever before there is a need for an alliance in the public sector.

What we must fight for are joint committees uniting rank and file

workers from many workplaces.

Already moves have been made in this direction by for example CLASH (Committee of London Area Stewards in the Health service) but are limited.

Links must be built between all public sector workers and between them and local trade unions and

community groups.

Direct works departments must build links with tenants and squatters; health workers with women groups, NAC groups and so on.

Then we can begin to fight for a public service according to workers' needs rather than capitalist profits.

Editorial Collective.

# Big Flame and IMG propose new organisations

## Left unity initiatives

RECENT MONTHS have seen two important unity initiatives on the Far Left in Britain. These are healthy developments. They increase the possibility of joint action, and also raise many important questions.

The International Marxist Group's paper *Red Weekly* has been enlarged and renamed *Socialist Challenge*. It now carries the by-line 'Build a Socialist Opposition. For a United Revolutionary Organisation.' It has raised issues for debate in the paper, expanded the letters page, and set aside certain columns from contributors from outside the IMG. Big Flame are also working for unity on the Left; they have opened their letters page to debate and promised to publish any particularly long contributions in their internal mailing.

So far both groups seem to have gained some support for their proposals. The Revolutionary Marxist Current, a small non-sectarian grouping have decided to work with Big Flame for six months as a preliminary to joining them. The IMG seem to have attracted the interest of the Workers League.

### Why unity?

What are the reasons for these initiatives, and on what basis do they hope for unity with other sections of the Left?

Both groups point to the practical advantages of unity, and the necessity to avoid sectarianism in what could be a crucial period of intensified class struggle. It is very true that many militants are deterred from revolutionary socialism by the alienating sectarianism and 'absolute purity' of many left groups, and also by the very existence of so many tiny left organisations.

The IMG does not believe that it has a monopoly of the truth. On the central political questions we believe that we are, in general, correct, but we still have a lot to learn both from other organisations and from the masses in struggle.

## Socialist Challenge

'We are convinced that unless the far-left understand the fact that internal democracy and open discussions are not a luxury, but a necessity in today's conditions, it will not be able to go very far. If it can grasp this fact and operate accordingly then the task of building a unified organisation will be facilitated a hundred fold.

'Can we accomplish these tasks on our own? We doubt it. That is why we appeal both to other socialist groups in sympathy with our two aims (i.e. building a socialist opposition and building a unified organisation) to join with us and try and take the far-left forward' (Editorial—first issue of *Socialist Challenge*.)

This is the sort of statement that has led Big Flame to stress that unity is also built through action, rather than by pious hopes. This criticism is most strongly made by the Revolutionary Marxist Current.

'The IMG has called for regroupment on the simple idea that revolutionary unity is "good", and that all revolutionaries should therefore be inside one organisation... But this is not enough. To us it

is an abstract call for unity around a simple desire to be united. It ignores the important question, unity around what?

'Revolutionaries can only unite if they have a shared view of what they should be doing. This can contain large differences on given issues. But they must have a common outlook on what is happening in society and how to build socialism. Such a common ground does not yet exist in Britain today. We wish it did, but it doesn't, we have to build it. The only way to do that is around unity in action. If the left can successfully unite around joint initiatives... such unity can be built from the bottom up.' (R.M.C. in July issue of *Big Flame*.)

Perhaps not too much should be made of this criticism. The IMG do after all work well in some united front campaigns, such as the Socialist Teachers Alliance, whilst on the other hand Big Flame do of course try to win support on the basis of their policies and programme.

### Leninism

There are considerable basic differences, and also similarities, between the politics of the two groups. Although the IMG stress the necessity for internal democracy, and should not be confused by the libertarians with this other really hard line Trotskyist outfit such as the WRP, which are very authoritarian, they do base themselves in Leninist ideas and practice. Big Flame's attitude to Leninism is not quite so clear.

Big Flame recognises the historical validity of aspects of the Leninist model. But we are aware that it has to be reassessed in today's conditions: where the state, the ruling class and the working class are very different than in pre-war Europe. No-one has come up with a clear new model for the seizure of power under advanced capitalism precisely because there has been no successful revolution under these

conditions. We can learn from history how to avoid "riding to power on the backs of the workers" by refusing the inflated role given to the party in some traditions. We can learn from history how to avoid "riding to power on the backs of the workers" by refusing the inflated role given to the party in some traditions' (Big Flame—June 1977)

Big Flame point to groups in Italy such as *Lotta Continua* to explain their concept of the relationship of the revolutionary organisation to the mass movement. *Socialist Challenge* has recently been carrying a series of articles which criticise the large and quite successful non-Trotskyist groupings in Italy, such as *Lotta Continua*, for lacking politics, a clear programme etc. Their alternative is of course the Fourth International section in Italy, which is tiny in comparison, but doubtless very 'political' and 'correct'. This seems to me to illuminate a real defect of the IMG, they react to problems and try to solve them at a level which causes them only to appeal to certain rather limited layers of people.

However, some recent pronouncements from the IMG, although at that rather rarified theoretical level which I object to as alienating, are of some interest to libertarians. In particular, I'll quote from a *Resolution of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on Socialist Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (p.10). This calls for, amongst other things, 'regular rotation of elected officials; restriction of their incomes to that of skilled workers; the right

to recall them at any time.' It says 'Revolutionary Marxists reject the substitutionist, paternalistic, and "apaural" (bureaucratic) deviation from Marxism that sees the socialist revolution, the conquest of state power, and the wielding of state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat as a task of the revolutionary party acting "in the name of" the class or, in the best of cases, "with the support of" the class.'

This is quite encouraging, a change in emphasis (I always thought it was a nasty "anarchist deviation") to want to have rotatable and instantly recallable delegates) and also a more "libertarian" outlook than other Trotskyists. Certainly, this sort of approach makes it ever more indefensible for libertarians to, in a sectarian way, confuse Trotskyism with Stalinism. However, this is only one forgotten article; it does not

attempt any sort of critical re-assessment of the history or practice of modern Trotskyism. Also, typically, it is a "theoretical" article. Theory

is important, and so is "theoretical correctness" but an overemphasis on the latter can lead to a tendency to what Big Flame in their pamphlet *The Revolution Unfinished?—A Critique of Trotskyism* refer to as "principled dogmatism". At its worst this is a complete refusal to integrate one's practice into one's theory, a real error of method.

A crucial problem referred to in the article I've quoted is that of "substitutionism", that is the

substitution of the party for the class. However, this is the result of incorrect ideas about form and role of revolutionary organisation, which are themselves the product of the belief that the "working class by itself can only gain Trades Union consciousness." Lenin—What is to be done? Libertarians Communists point to the capacity of the working class for revolutionary self-activity. We don't think you avoid substitutionism simply by denouncing Stalinism.

The article also raises the whole problem of the relationship that will exist between revolutionaries and the existing instruments of state power. The class as a whole must take power, in order not only to destroy capitalism, but also the coercive mechanisms of the state.

The present unity initiatives should not be dismissed out of hand as attempts to push members from one left group (because of a failure to gain new members from outside the orthodox left). It may be that this lies behind such

initiatives, but as yet there is no evidence for it. For the time being Big Flame stress the need for action as a basis for unity, their preparedness to reassess the relationship between the revolutionary organisation, the mass movement, and the class as a whole, and their realisation that the struggles of women and other oppressed groups have their own revolutionary dynamic, makes their ideas more attractive. However, even with them there is, or seems to be, a contradiction between some of these ideas and their views on the role and scope of their organisation.

### Debate

The A.W.A. is a libertarian communist group, but we are not only prepared to debate with other organisations on the left, but also to work with them in united front campaigns provided that these are organised democratically, and have a clear minimum basis for participation. We are active in several such campaigns at the moment, and will also be taking the opportunity to raise the question of a Public Sector Alliance in the left, since we see this as important for the success of the struggle against the present attacks on working class living standards.

The initiatives are welcome since they open up, rather than close them, the opportunity to raise the question of a Public Sector Alliance in the left, since we see this as important for the success of the struggle against the present attacks on working class living standards.

The initiatives are welcome since they open up, rather than close them, the opportunity to raise the question of a Public Sector Alliance in the left, since we see this as important for the success of the struggle against the present attacks on working class living standards.

In particular, we want to encourage the growth of joint action from the bottom up.

C.M.



## Squatters Union

THERE HAD been little all-London coordination of squatting work since the days of the London Squatters Federation in the early '70s. This grouping soon collapsed, due to inactivity and the number of people involved who were opposed to all forms of meaningful organisation.

### SAC

A small grouping that attempted to act as an all-London body, the Squatters Action Council, while

active in getting out a regular broadsheet and in organising a large number of large scale squats, was not really representative of the squatting groups in London, in that few delegates from these bodies ever attended SAC meetings.

Now, however, with the Tories firmly ensconced in the Greater London Council, and the Criminal Injuries Act about to become law, a more determined line has been taken by many London squatters in the establishment of the London

Squatters Union. The SAC announced its intention to dissolve itself into the new organisation and tentative moves were made to discuss form of organisation and a Squatters Charter to be adopted by the Union.

### First meeting

When the first meeting of the Union met on July 31st, just off the Tottenham Court Road, some drafts of proposals on organisation were ready to be discussed.

80-100 squatters attended the meeting, and a number of established local groupings were





ELVIS PRESLEY made his first recording "That's All Right Mama" in 1954 for Sun Records of Memphis, backed with "Blue Moon of Kentucky". The first was a blues originally recorded by Arthur "Big Boy" Crudup, the latter a cover of the blues song by Bill Monroe.

"How rhythm and blues was plundered by white capitalism in the evolution of rock 'n roll has now been put on record, although subsequent histories have failed to emphasise the injustice of this situation", Tony Cummings in *Roots, Forerunners and Originators*.

In many ways this analysis, widely accepted in certain circles, fails to understand the originality of Presley and other white artists in evolving a fusion of blues and country music in the form of rockabilly and rock 'n roll.

What the rise to fame of Presley shows is the deeply entrenched racism throughout America, where enthusiasts of black music, like Sam Phillips, the owner of Sun, realised that it was necessary for a white artist to perform black songs to bring the whole range of rhythm and blues to a white audience.

There had always been a mutual exchange of styles between black and white musicians in the South, and this cultural crossover was nothing new, but it was something that ever broke through racist institutions.

That is until artists like Presley were able to reveal the hidden currents of "race music" to the great white public.

Black artists like Chuck Berry, Fats Domino, the Coasters etc. were able to march through the gap in the wall that Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis and Bill Haley had opened, and this

represented.

One of the encouraging aspects of the meeting was the unanimous feeling that a structured organisation had to be built, with membership, monthly payments, and elected officials. This showed a great development in that many of the people who were urging this, had several years before in the London Squatters Federation agreed all formal organisation.

## Autonomy

Much of the afternoon meeting was taken up with a discussion over whether the Squatters Union should be open to anyone who agreed with the Squatters Charter or whether it should be limited to squatters, licensees and the homeless. Certain members of SAC argued for the former. Two libertarian anarchists also argued that as a member of the AWA, then put forward a motion that the Squatters Union should limit membership to squatters, the homeless, licensees and squatters term house tenants.

They argued that the autonomous organisation of squatters was vital, and that any more open this would not only damage squatters' self-organisation, but the principle of autonomy as applied in women's and black groups.

They felt that those who wished to support the Squatters Union, who were not themselves in one of the above categories, should receive membership with no voting rights, after a month of not being voted on, this concept was finally accepted by a large majority.

was followed up in later years with the popularity of soul music. Presley himself on his first Sun recordings reveals a remarkable talent. "Those sides... catch a world of risk, will, passion and natural nobility," Greil Marcus in *Mystery Train*.

Young whites, attempting in an incoherent way to break away from wartime austerity and the dominance in the charts of people like Rosemary Clooney, identified heavily with Presley's songs. They seemed to celebrating freedom and the casting away of constraint.

One of Elvis's chief contributions was his catalytic role in helping crystallise a volatile new culture, the youth culture, which demonstrates from time to time young people's dissatisfaction with capitalist society.

This rebellion is manifested through style, adopting a particular form of music, type of dress and patterns of speech. Only rarely does this youth culture speak in an openly political way, though it can be that youth plays an active role in the revolutionary upheavals of the last twenty years, in particular Hungary '56 and France '68.

Unfortunately, Presley's uniqueness was not to last. The big record companies began to realise how they could exploit what they saw as a new market.

In Charlie Gillett's words: "Gradually, but thoroughly, the character of the music that had distinguished the rock 'n roll of 1956 was eliminated: strong regional accents; self-composed songs; simple open musical arrangements, featuring a small number of instruments with a solo an improvised solo by

The establishment of the London Squatters Union is a big step forward for squatters. However, to consolidate this, it is vital that strong local groups develop inside the LSU, and that these groups actively work with tenants and trade union groups around the question of housing.

Squatting will become more fraught with hazards over the next few years, with the Criminal Trespass Laws making it so much easier for councils etc to get evictions. Nevertheless, the housing crisis, which is worsening in London, will increase the numbers of people squating.

No cure

The new laws won't prevent squatting, they will only aggravate the chances of violent confrontations between squatters and the police and bailiffs.

It will become necessary for mass squats, i.e. a whole street or a block of flats, to become the norm, rather than those isolated squats that can be easily evicted.

All this requires coordination and organisation, and regular active meetings to keep up communication with local trades councils, union branches and tenants associations.

A union front of these bodies can draw up alternative housing policies to present to the local council, and stop evictions of squatters and the getting of empty houses.

The London Squatters Union has taken up the organisational problem now the way is open to take up this problem of squatters' power or an anarchist dictatorship of the proletariat,

saxophone, guitar, or piano worked out spontaneously in the studio. In their place, uncalculated voices, songs composed by people who didn't sing, written arrangements for large orchestras and choruses. (*The Sound of the City*)

And so to Elvis, under his astute manager Colonel Tom Parker, became a smile for everything that was most effete, plastic and spontaneous about popular music. The big businessmen, in their search for a quick buck, had torn the guts out of a music that had some vitality, some life, and which had been the product of young blacks and whites, in the cities like New York and Chicago, and in the deep south farmlands of Tennessee. Presley lived on to become a denizen of one of his songs—Heartbreak Hotel—lonely and isolated, and able only occasionally to break through the cocoon of blandness that had been woven around him. H.N.



## What's in a name... WHY WE'RE CHANGING

IN THE last copy of *Anarchist Worker* we promised to explain fully why we were changing our name from AWA to Libertarian Communist Group.

Over the last few years, the AWA has been going through a number of changes.

It developed out of traditional anarchism, and away from the "affinity groups" form of organisation towards something that guaranteed the utmost democracy whilst being effective at the same time.

In England, unlike the continent, Leninism has been playing with various forms of liberalism and pacifism masquerading as forms of libertarianism.

The recognition of the working class as the key to a revolutionary change in society was absent from many groups.

The AWA reaffirmed an allegiance to working class revolution.

It saw that it was necessary to go beyond theoretical rhetoric and the trumpeting of "revolution now! revolution now!" to attempting to organise thoughtfully and effectively so that that revolution could be achieved.

The AWA/LCG is still attempting to show ways in which the working class can mobilise around demands that will strengthen it and prepare for the taking of power as a class. This requires much work and discussion.

This process is not complete inside the organisation, and we know we have a long way to go, but we hope and feel we can achieve greater political clarity. Our policies around united front work and the public sector alliance are examples of this.

Along with other groups on the continent, who began to describe themselves as libertarian communist, we saw the way in which traditional anarchism had fossilised, had become yet another "religion" like the other ossified "religions" of the left.

Traditional anarchism refused to look at the modern world, developed its own list of saints of whom it was ashamed to criticise in however mild a form.

It acquired a Pavlovian reaction to any discussion about the merits of aspects of other currents of socialism.

Half Marx

When we, and our comrades in Europe, began to talk about the need for a transitional period between the first day of the workers' and full communism, when we began to talk about workers' power or an anarchist dictatorship of the proletariat,

we were attacked as 'authoritarians', as 'Marxists'. And yes, we saw that Marx had great historic contributions to make to the revolutionary movement.

Although we had our criticisms to make of the behaviour of Marx and his followers in the First International, and the way in which the Marxists had quickly collapsed into reformism and social democracy (the history of German Marxism is a classic example).

Marxism became identified with social democracy, until Lenin and Luxemburg moved out of its orbit. Yet we saw the need, as Marx and Bakunin had done, for a scientific analysis of the processes of capitalism, for a dialectical materialist approach.

We were able to see some strengths in the theory and practice of socialists outside the anarchist movement, like Luxemburg, Pannekoek, Korsch, and Gramsci.

Does all this mean we are moving away from a commitment to workers' self-management, to direct action, to autonomous working class revolution? Are we becoming Leninists?

No. Our commitment to these principles is just as strong. Whilst we see that on many occasions in history—the Russian revolution, the German revolution, the Spanish revolution, the labour movement in France, Italy and Bulgaria, and the anti-fascist resistance there, anarchists and anarcho-synicalists were often the most devoted and courageous of their class, and were a source of inspiration to many, we see too the

failures of syndicalism, in particular in Spain.

We see the failure of anarchists to develop a satisfactory form of organisation to effectively combat capitalism.

Where we do look in history is to the actual moments of revolution when the class itself became a major actor on the stage of social struggle. Hungary '56 and May '68 are prime examples.

And we look to those groups who attempted to move forward. The Organisational Platform group of 1935, Camillo Berneri and the Friends of Durruti (Spain 1937), the Federation Communiste Libertaire and the Gruppo Anarchico di Azione Proletaria (France and Italy, the 50s).

These Groups Anarchists d'Action Revolutionnaire around the journal *Nor et Rouge* (1955-1968).

The class is 1977. Capitalism has advanced and developed: we have gained a host of new experiences in revolutionary development since the late 50s.

We must move forward out of the mausoleums and cemeteries where the bleached bones of sectarianism and the mummified corpses of ideology lie.

Links

We define ourselves as libertarian communists and we seek links with those abroad who share our perspectives in order to build an international.

Our approach to other groups will be open-ended, on the lines of principled discussion, feeling that a genuine affirmation of effective organisation, self-management of struggle and society are more important than labels.

The Liberation of the Working Class is the Task of the Working Class itself.

Editorial Collective

## BRISTOL RECOGNITION DISPUTE

LOW WAGES, primitive work conditions, an atrocious boss who pushes his workers around and doesn't like unions. Sounds familiar doesn't it? No, this isn't Grunwick, but Radford Electronics, a small engineering firm in Bristol.

Pay there is very low, with engineers taking home as little as £21 or £28 a week, and women earning 50 pence an hour before deductions. There are no fire alarms or extinguishers, and heating, ventilation and safety are all bad.

The dispute blew up over the rights of engineers to go on day release courses. Arthur Radford, the managing director, wouldn't pay the workers' tuition fees, or for the time they spent there, and finally stopped Bristol.

This was the last straw. Some workers joined AUEW-TASS. Radford refused to recognise the union and

then sacked two men. Now ten workers are out on strike. Radford obviously thinks he's still in control. He told strikers picketing the factory "I'm going to stop you boys from ever getting a good job... I've done it before to other people that I didn't like."

He's going to have to be shown that he can't behave as he has in the past. Though the strikers have as yet failed to get the support of the women workers, who understandably need the money, but support from the union and Bristol Trades Council has been good. Picketing, blacking and financial support will win this dispute.

To help, contact Dave 'Yomans' (AUEW TASS full-time) Room 5, 2nd floor, York House, Bond St., Bristol.

With acknowledgement to "Bristol Voice".

# The Lessons of Lewisham

AT LEWISHAM on Aug 13th and at Ladywood in Birmingham on Aug 15th, two anti-fascist confrontations occurred which, because of their size and militancy, mark a step forward in the campaign against Fascism in this country.

Lewisham was a defeat for the National Front. Their provocative 'anti-mugger' march through an area of South London with a high immigrant population was small, probably less than a thousand, on what was supposed for them to be a national mobilisation, and came under heavy attack throughout.

When the police charged and led the march onto New Cross Road the NF were met with a barrage of bricks, bottles and smoke-bombs. Their march was split and some of their banners grabbed and burnt. They dispersed near Lewisham Station, having only gone half the distance they had planned to, and most of that down side-roads.

At Ladywood the NF succeeded in holding their by-election meeting, but were severely harassed by anti-fascists.

## Violence

Both of these events were confrontations on the grand scale, and have gained a great deal of disturbing publicity from the media. The injuries to the police were exaggerated, in usual, and the number of the demonstrators hurt was minimised.

Both events were very violent and the majority of the violence occurred between demonstrators and police. We must be clear that the responsibility for the violence rests with the police.

At Lewisham the police allowed the NF to march, and insisted on clearing New Cross Rd for them to use with a charge of mounted police, when of course they could have dispersed the NF or led them by another route. In Lewisham High Street they issued riot shields and attacked the rioters in order to show that they were in charge. If they only wanted to disperse the anti-fascists, they could have told them that by then the NF had already given up and gone home.

As long as the police protect the right of Fascists and racists to express their views there will be confrontations. We know that Nazi movements must be smashed before they can gain a foothold. We know that for every successful racist demonstration many immigrants and Trades Unionists will suffer physical

Riot shields, developed in Ireland, are used for the first time on mainland UK streets. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

attacks. We cannot allow the NF to win control of our streets.

## Blacks

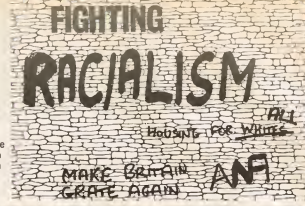
The most surprising thing about the confrontations was the militancy of the black youth. In both Lewisham and Ladywood it was they who in the main were prepared to take on the police and to throw missiles. The reasons for this militancy are fairly obvious. Blacks in this country are discriminated against. Many are unemployed. Many black youths have no future except the dole queue. In South London, Birmingham and elsewhere they are subjected to racist abuse and frequently

physical violence. Blacks, especially young blacks, are occasionally harassed by the police. The struggle in Lewisham is largely due to controversy between Fascists and their opponents over the midnight police raids on so-called 'muggers' which resulted in the arrest of 21 West Indian youths under the notorious conspiracy laws.

What was apparent at Lewisham and Ladywood was the naked hatred of the police by the blacks. The events of this year's Notting Hill Carnival show that there is a rising tide of frustration among the blacks, and their determination to hit back at the police.



Mounted police attempt to force a way through anti-fascist demonstrators at Lewisham. They were forced to retreat. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)



"What do you think of a secret society of foreigners persecuting Germans? Large masses of people can be brought into other identification with one another or any given person if they share a common sinister danger and if someone steps forward and awakes them... if only one had the enemy at hand."

"It is a difficult task to find such an enemy, since he must be not present yet crucial."

"I recommend that we nominate the Jew to be this enemy. In Germany there are 600,000 of them against 80,000,000. That is a good ratio." —Sigmund Freud, psychoanalyst and socialist, 1925.

CONDITIONS in Britain are very similar today to those in Germany fifty years ago. Rising prices, industrial stagnation, unemployment and increasing misery for the mass of people.

A fragmented, weak and confused working class but all faith in the promises of German politicians.

Except for one — Adolf Hitler, who turned Hitler's ambition into this reality.

## Scapegoat

Politicians, workers of the British establishment are creating a "common sinister danger" — the blacks.

There are 1.5 million blacks in a total population of 55 million.

Not a bad ratio.

One way they have done this is to paint all blacks as criminals. The press, local and national have been at the forefront of this.

A few years back, the Press began saturating the news with tales of muggings, reporting those which involved blacks.

This gave the impression that mugging was a new crime and that blacks were the main offenders.

In fact, mugging existed long before. Its incidence did not increase a few years back, only the reporting of mugging increased.

In fact, all the figures used by Powell and other racists are based on the figures of blacks arrested not those convicted of crime that blacks are blamed for. Since police have to book people every day, note the number picked up on suspicion — it is not bloody surprising that the arrest figures show a high proportion of blacks involved.

These low numbers of black violence have been used a pretty exaggerated by the newspapers carefully selecting sensational news.

One can deny that some blacks commit crime. Given that there is a higher unemployment and more low paid jobs amongst blacks than whites.

But this is long way off from saying that blacks are the main criminals. Yet some people in authority have said just that.

## Justice?

Like the case of Judge Cyril Morris: On sentencing black youths in South London in May 1976, "While living memory these areas were peaceful safe

Above all, we've got to face up to the challenge that the militancy of the young blacks presents to the Left. We shouldn't try to co-opt them into the party as the SWP tries to do, but we shouldn't be uncritical of the blacks' lack of political awareness either. The first step to solve this will be to work with blacks against racism, without ignoring the need for their self-organisation. Co-option is one thing, co-operation another.

## Police

Tactically, we need to be prepared to be faced by an increasingly highly-trained police force using increasingly sophisticated technology of repression. Riot shields may be only the first piece of equipment in daily use in Northern Ireland to be given to our police force. We need to examine the problems raised by the escalation of the conflict, the use of riot-shields, police horses, missiles etc.

In the near future, on Oct 8th, the NF are holding a march and meeting in Tameside. Tameside Anti-Fascist Committee are calling for a mass counter-demonstration. Help build for this now. Create a mass anti-fascist presence that can stop them!

Dave Higgins.



Victims of police attack at Notting Hill



# Blacks against the law



Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)



Int. Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

and aggression to live in. But the immigrant settlement which has occurred over the last 25 years has radically transformed the environment.

While age he passed sentences on six black youths convicted of theft, robbery and burglary. No violence was involved.

The youths, aged between 16 and 17, were given sentences ranging from three to seven years in prison or detention.

While passing sentence the Judge advocated the whites set up vigilance groups.

Within a week Judge Gwyn Morris was presiding over a case in which three whites had assaulted and injured three blacks.

Two were given suspended sentences while the third was given a mere three years.

Did the learned judge advise blacks to set up self defence groups?

You let me die.

As the crisis deepens, blacks will be urged not more and more in the attempt to create the common sinister design.

The result will be, as it was in Germany, to divert the attention away from the true crisis and to raise the sort of hysteria among the working class that will make it easy prey for the tactics of the fascists.

Black and white must unite to fight the racism together.

More fundamentally they must fight against the economic conditions which give rise to racism.

The small but growing resistance to the outbursts in public spending can form the beginning to this.

Karl Hartwell

## Anarchist Worker talks to anti-racist militant

THE ANTI-FASCIST and anti-racist activities that usually get reported in the Left press are counter-demos against the National Front. Anti-fascist work also involves more than this.

**Anarchist Worker:** Do you think counter-demos are of any use?

**Keith Harris:** The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Fewer N.F. turned up than we had expected on April 23. It is vital that fascists are not allowed to openly provoke national minorities.

A counter-demo is one way for the working-class, black and white, to show its determination to prevent such provocation.

What tactics should be used in the counter-demo?

The tactics must fit the circumstances, but basically the aim must be to prevent the fascists from marching.

It is not enough to hold a "demonstration against racism", as the Trades Council did at Stochford, over a mile away from the racists!

The right tactic was shown by the larger number of people who prevented the racists from marching into the area of Stochford where the blacks live.

Some of those who took part in the April 23 counter-demo, Labour councillors and such, were more interested in making fine voice-winning speeches against racism than in stopping the Front.

In fact the Labour Council has a racist housing policy and has recently white-washed a report which only proved what Black youth have known all along, that Haringey police

**Anarchist Worker** spoke to Keith Harris, a member of Haringey Campaign Against Racism, one of the groups that originally set up the 23 April Committee.

harass black youth.

Do you not believe in unity of the race?

Being Left is not what you call your self, it's what you do. The people who call for most unity on the left are usually those who either do fuck all or what they do is so much of a compromise to the right that they have to cover themselves by calling the others, who take the working-class line, splitters.

There are real dangers in Popular Fronts, that is, an alliance of working-class politics with wishy-washy social democratic and liberal politics.

First, such people are not usually committed to stopping the Front, and may, if they are stewards, try and prevent such action.

Second, they'll barrage you with such platitudes as "we can all live together", "over race—the human race" etc. Working-class politics is quite clear on this point—racism is not a failure of race to integrate, but a product of capitalism. The nation-state exists to look after the interests of national capitalists. In a crisis, the capitalists see a national solution.

Fascism is one such solution, a very extra one. But another example is precisely what the Labour Government is doing: it was Labour that introduced the 1967 Immigration Act.

Working-class militants must clearly state: There is no single human

human race, but a race of classes—bosses and workers!

How then should socialists operate in anti-racist and anti-fascist work?

All anti-fascists with a working-class perspective, that is to say, who see racism as firmly rooted in capitalism itself, must organise together. Such a united front would consist of revolutionary socialists and left social democrats from many political tendencies.

It would be united on specific objectives. I see three such objectives. First, no platform for racists and fascists. This covers for example, counter-demos and actions against local racist newspapers.

Secondly, an attack upon racism in the state institution. The most glaring example of this is immigration control. Such control suggests that it is the numbers of immigrants that cause problems such as unemployment, bad housing, etc. whereas in fact it is the capitalist crisis that is the cause. These racist laws must be challenged.

Thirdly, black self-organisation must be encouraged, and supported by the white working-class. An autonomous black movement is necessary to combat the specific oppression that blacks suffer.

This will range from defence against fascist and police harassment to challenging discrimination in unions and the like.

So you see, anti-racism is far more than just Front bashing. What do you see as the next step?

The next step must be for local committees to form a national federation. This is crucial, because local struggles need wider support, and some issues, such as immigration controls, can only be fought nationally.

Furthermore, a nation federation would be better equipped to investigate, expose and fight fascist activities.

## 'HOWLING MOB ATTACK POLICE'

From my seat in Finch's wine bar I looked down upon the most violent scenes yet as ranting left-wing rentamob extremists clashed with police.

The trouble started when rentamob leftwing ranting extremists charged at the police who were escorting a peaceful demonstration.

The extreme leftwing ranting rentamob showed its utter disregard for democracy by attempting to prevent every Briton's right to incite racism and organise a fascist state.

They hurled concrete slabs, corrugated iron and ten-ton lorries at police after the Front had dispersed.

400 people were injured, 500 of them police. Over 2,000 arrests were made.

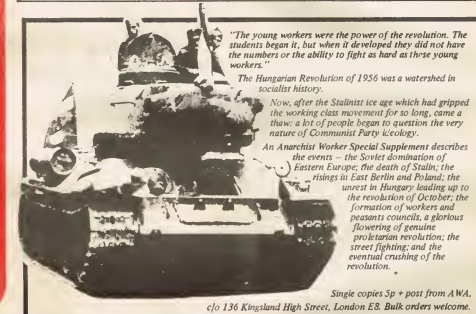
Animal grunts and cries were heard from the ranting rentamob extreme left-wingers and trade unionists as they moved toward

Ludlow, where not a single building was left standing after another night of violence.

Later on, there were calls throughout Lewisham and Finch's wine bar that this sort of violence should not be allowed to happen again.

Indeed there was a call for tougher measures to deal with those who challenge law and order, endorsing the slogans of the National Front.

Jim Partial



"The young workers were the power of the revolution. The students began it, but when it developed they did not have the numbers or the ability to fight as hard as these young workers."

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a watershed in socialist history.

Now, after the Stalinist ice age which had gripped the working class movement for so long, came a thaw: a lot of people began to question the very nature of Communist Party ideology.

An Anarchist Worker Special Supplement describes the events — the Soviet domination of

Eastern Europe; the death of Stalin; the

— rising in East Berlin and Poland; the

unrest in Hungary leading up to the

revolution of October; the formation of workers and

peasants councils; a glorious flowering of genuine

proletarian revolution; the street fighting; and the

eventual crushing of the revolution.

Single copies 5p + post from AWA.

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## DISSECTING THE CNT Upsurge in Spain

THE revival of the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (legalised the 4th of May—40,000 strong at that time) is indicative not only of the strength of the libertarian movement in Spain but also of a real new non-party, non-aligned movement in favour of workers self-organisation.

The CNT gains credibility through its practice of supporting struggles unconditionally and with no strings attached, and through its call for the destruction of the Francoist union structure, its refusal to indulge in class collaboration and its proposals for workers self-organisation at grass roots level.

It is becoming the main opposition to reformism and the spearhead of the anti-capitalist struggle.

From what was seen at meetings in Barcelona the CNT has a large percentage of young militants (20-30 years old) a great number of whom are women, which gives it a particular outlook—not altogether without problems.

At the moment an important discussion is going on in the CNT between several tendencies, often on a regional level. This has not affected the growing support of workers but will no doubt, if the contradictions become more acute.

In the main there are 3 tendencies 1) The Anarchists—made up of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (traditional anarchists, *Frente Libertario*, a more radical group around an exile paper of the same name in France, anarcho-syndicalists and the tendency which has grown out of the ideas of 1968 in France, generally anti-syndicalist and 'folklorique'.

2) Libertarian communists and the tendency for workers autonomy in general. In Catalonia for example antagonism had reached such a point that an extraordinary general meeting was convened and the general secretary and the regional committee resigned, forcing re-elections. Nevertheless, the ever-growing Catalan CNT is the most important in Spain.

In the Basque country collaboration with the local union (LAB) and some separatists could give the Euzkadi CNT a short life.

In the regional developments can be found ideological tendencies which illustrate the complexity of the Spanish situation even within the CNT.

Central Spain the dominant tendencies are FAIist and syndicalist.

In Asturias, Prudonian tendencies; in Andalucía, libertarian communist and council communist; while in Valencia trotskyist tendencies have entered the union.

In fact there are people from all sorts of traditions—ex members of the Communist and Socialist Parties, ex-phalangists, christians, council communists, which creates enormous problems and an atmosphere of confusion.

A libertarian communist said on this "The fact is, that despite its growth, the CNT has not yet got a big working class base, it has not yet defined an alternative trade union strategy, to the establishment or to the left. It is in this context that we are struggling for a CNT that is able to respond to the revolutionary demands of the workers. For this it must overcome the immediate problem, that the militants fight more on an organisational level than on a base level, where spontaneous demands need the support of a class-based organisation which will deal with them as they stand without embroiling them in the infighting of tendencies which rivals the reformist parties."

The Spanish situation shows us that a union organisation that is a real weapon of struggle, but in a wider form than in the anarcho-syndicalist tradition from which it has sprung historically.

The CNT must be independent of all the political tendencies, libertarian included, and must be open to all groupings of autonomous workers. The anarchists must have their own specific organisation, as well as the young libertarians.

In Spain, the libertarian communists are syndicalist only in the sense that they believe that the CNT is the only mass organisation with clearly revolutionary aims and practice as far as workers self-organisation is concerned, and that it would be crazy to create another organisation.

They work within the CNT in order to advance the struggle in this context, to oppose bourgeois influence and reformist influence, and to promote the discussion on all fronts.

However, the Movimiento Comunista Libertario dissolved itself into the CNT last year which was a mistake. The MCL is now reconstituting itself, realising the need for a nationally coordinated organisation which can act effectively both inside the CNT and within the broader social and political struggle.

The launching of a national paper will, it is hoped, widen the debate between libertarian communists and within the CNT.

Information from *Front Libertario*, the paper of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire (France).

## THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE



CNT meeting at San Sebastian: 20,000 people. Photo: Front Libertaire

## Review

*Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* — Jose Peirats, Black and Red Paperback, 400p. £2.95.

Jose Peirats was an active member of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, the anarcho-syndicalist union that at times commanded the allegiance of masses of workers. For some years he was Secretary General of the CNT in exile.

This book printed for the first time in English, is a welcome addition to the literature of the Spanish revolutionary movement.

It gives in some detail the growth of the Spanish libertarian movement from the last decades of the 19th century up to the Civil War and Revolution. It chronicles the various important labour disputes the CNT was involved in.

Unfortunately, Peirats has not learnt enough from his own experience and that of the CNT as a whole during the Spanish Revolution.

## Guerillas

He has learnt some things however, and at times he is able to see things clearly.

For example, he admits the institutionalisation of the war into trench warfare.

"The Spanish Anarchists suffered from an excessively urban orientation in their revolutionary or rather, insurrectionary, plans. If the

insurrection was lost in the cities, the villages were written off. We never thought that we would have to prepare for civil war by organising support bases for guerrilla actions in the countryside and the mountains, and by developing supply systems for such activities and training select troops as guerrillas. With its tortuous geography Spain is a good terrain for guerrilla warfare, and a well organised guerrilla force would have defeated soldiers trained for a war of conventional lines."

In the last world war the Spanish Army itself used guerrilla warfare and the Vietnamese and the Palestinians are still using it. Guerrilla organisation could have saved the North from Franco. Our trench warfare was a gift that we made to Franco. . . . The war of fronts led the CNT into the mire of political collaboration and to give up our past without any kind of recompense, since the more we surrendered as we collaborated, the more was demanded of us."

Peirats is able to see that the CNT and the FAI went in for far too simplistic propaganda to the masses.

"Anarchism is largely responsible for its own bad reputation in the world. It did not consider the thorny problems of means and ends. In their writings, many anarchists conceived of a miraculous solution to the problem of revolution. We fell easily into the trap in Spain. We believed that "once the dog is dead the rabies is over". We proclaimed a full-blown revolution without worrying about the many complex problems that a revolution brings with it."

## Excuses

Peirats attempts to make excuses for the failure of the CNT and the anarchist organisation, the Federación Anarquista Iberica, by pointing to the work of the regular militants.

Now the work of these militants was very important, especially the ongoing tasks of collectivisation (see Sam Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*, Gaston Levent collective in the Spanish Revolution). It does not go far enough, however, to absolve the CNT-FAI leadership in their collaboration with the government and the betrayal of the working class in Barcelona (see last A.W.).

Furthermore, Peirats attempts to play down the role of the libertarian communist opposition to the set ups (Camille Berneri, the Libertarian Youth, Friends of Durruti).

The last group Peirats dismisses with the comment that it never had "the importance ascribed to it by some foreign historians. The relative unimportance of its members (what he wrote a postscript in 1976) and also a note of hope.

"A promising new stage is opening up to anarchism in Spain. The old militants, still ready for the struggle, are contemplating former successes and failures: the young, having recently entered the arena, are supplementing inexperience with their devastating dynamism and intellectual preparation. The renaissance of anarchism in the Iberian Peninsula may herald an anarchist renaissance in Europe and America."

## Renaissance

Unfortunately now that the Spanish libertarian movement is re-emerging with a vengeance the mistakes of the past can be learnt from.

Peirats was able to prophesy the renaissance of Iberian socialism (he wrote a postscript in 1976) and also a note of hope.

"A promising new stage is opening up to anarchism in Spain. The old militants, still ready for the struggle, are contemplating former successes and failures: the young, having recently entered the arena, are supplementing inexperience with their devastating dynamism and intellectual preparation. The renaissance of anarchism in the Iberian Peninsula may herald an anarchist renaissance in Europe and America."

By 'Marxist' influence, Peirats

## IN BRIEF

French prodant Grand d'Estang gave his Cabinet Ministers strict instructions before their holidays this summer—don't wear swimming trunks while the photographers are around. The reason—the French people are undergoing a period of severe belt-tightening, as workers living standards are slashed to pay for the crisis of capitalism.

Grand was worried that if the bulging waistlines of some of his ministers were exposed to public view, it could cause unrest.

Leader of the cabinet fannies is Economy Minister Raymond Barre. His other main claim to fame is as author of the austerity programme, known as the Barre Plan.

He's obviously been having a swell time while forcing workers to cut back on essentials.

means that the Friends of Durruti called for the extension of the revolution and the seizure of power by the working class.

**Honesty**

Peirats is honest enough in his detailed account of the divisions in the CNT, between the more 'reformist' elements and the principled revolutionaries of the Catalan Young Libertarians—who

circumstantially of CNT participation in the governments of Madrid and Catalonia.

He is critical of the way in which democracy began to disappear inside the libertarian movement, but because he stands in the centre, halfway between the collaborationists and those who wanted to deepen the revolution, he is unable to come up with any satisfactory explanations of the cause of events.

Peirats is able to see that the CNT and the FAI went in for far too simplistic propaganda to the masses.

"Anarchism is largely responsible for its own bad reputation in the world. It did not consider the thorny problems of means and ends. In their writings, many anarchists conceived of a miraculous solution to the problem of revolution. We fell easily into the trap in Spain. We believed that "once the dog is dead the rabies is over". We proclaimed a full-blown revolution without worrying about the many complex problems that a revolution brings with it."

Furthermore, Peirats attempts to play down the role of the libertarian communist opposition to the set ups (Camille Berneri, the Libertarian Youth, Friends of Durruti).

The last group Peirats dismisses with the comment that it never had "the importance ascribed to it by some foreign historians. The relative unimportance of its members (what he wrote a postscript in 1976) and also a note of hope.

"A promising new stage is opening up to anarchism in Spain. The old militants, still ready for the struggle, are contemplating former successes and failures: the young, having recently entered the arena, are supplementing inexperience with their devastating dynamism and intellectual preparation. The renaissance of anarchism in the Iberian Peninsula may herald an anarchist renaissance in Europe and America."

By 'Marxist' influence, Peirats

## PICKET PROTEST OVER BULGARIAN ANARCHISTS

ON the weekend of Sept 10th and 11th two pickets were held in London to protest against the maltreatment of anarchists in Bulgaria. The picket on Saturday was held outside the offices of the Bulgarian Tourist Board in Regent St, the one on Sunday outside the Bulgarian Embassy near Gloucester Road.

Bulgaria is one of the most Stalinist of the states of Eastern Europe. Its foreign policy is totally subservient to the Kremlin and there is very little internal democracy. This state of affairs has existed ever since the Red Army moved in at the end of the Second World War. They took over the workers councils and old order militias which the Bulgarians had formed in their struggle against

the fascist clique which had led them into war on the side of Germany. Stalin's Red Army ushered in the government of the Fatherland Front. This government suppressed all the opposition currents which had briefly flourished in the struggle against the country's old fascist leader.

Since the war the political history of Bulgaria is one of unswerving allegiance to the Kremlin, and the continued persecution of dissidents inside the country.

Christo Kolev, a leading militant of the Bulgarian Anarcho-Communist Movement, has spent 11 years in jail for his attacks on the bureaucracy and his anarchist beliefs. A group of libertarian students were imprisoned in 1969 for distributing a pamphlet attacking the regime. More recently, dissidents have been arrested for

distributing copies of the Czechoslovak Charter 77.

The pickets were organised by the Social Revolution group, and attended by members of most libertarian groups i.e. Solidarity, Social Revolution, AWA and Provisional AWA.

It was a pity that Social Revolution did not seek the support of anyone beyond the circle of the 'libertarian' left, and also that this seems to have been a one-off event. However, they say that they intend the pickets to be "part of an on-going campaign against the repression of libertarians world-wide." If you are interested, contact T. Liddle, 83 Srigney Crescent, SE9 5RZ, C.M.

By 'Marxist' influence, Peirats

As an anarchist I have been interested in the AWA for some time now and agree that it is necessary for the anarchist movement to get itself organised and felt as a presence in the labour movement . . . but organisation for what and how? The AWA have taken a lead, but the (ill-informed) impression I have is one of the AWA action being similar to the myriad of skateboards and Maoist vanguards

HOWever, it is the approach of the HWA that I find odd. Basically, it is a question of whether or not there are "competitive politics". In a way, perhaps this is unavoidable as the HWA is a political organisation. The competitive groups—WRP, SWP, CP, etc.—are not the only anarchists in the world. I have seen a "Punk's Credit" I have seen an "Anarchist Worker's" poster . . . and I have seen a poster of acceptance of this bourgeois notion of politics. To someone attracted to anarchism, it is a little like going to the supermarket to purchase (join) the organisation with the ideology of anarchism. I am not sure if this is a bad decision making may be based on experience—which may change with time. I am not sure if I am picking up my pre-packaged ideology and set of politics. Above all I don't think, don't want to be a member of an organisation to account that those enjoy this life.

So what am I trying to say? I am saying that I am not a member of a libertarian organisation committed to *being* politics. An organisation where I can be a member of the party of the nation conference but in the end, people come together. An organisation whose main commitment is to people more important than the conference motion. An organisation where people can disagree, argue, and have different points of view across contradictory points of view across which people can disagree, argue, and have different points of view across

# NEW

*Portugal: The Impossible Revolution*, by Ryszard Kapuscinski  
Translated by Dmitri Nabokov  
\$19.95  
It's hard to believe it now, but Portugal has been so still during my years. The men, the slogans, the singing and dancing open again, after forty-eight years of silence.  
In that single day everything goes back.

How can words describe 600,000 people who have been freed from slavery? A million? Or the effect of carnations everywhere, in the barracks, in the hands of troops and demonstrators waving them like flags, or the week of hectic, fast moving events.

Working people have left an indelible mark on the situation.

The call for socialism and respect of civil liberties have been inscribed in making it.

Portugal—The Impossible Revolution—has been reborn by blood by eyewitness account of the Portuguese Revolution of 1974.

It will open the eyes of those who look at the book to the experiences and the hopes and aspirations of the peasants and workers.

The book covers where it is able to strongly evoke exhilaration of living through a period of revolution and the moments when there is really alive.

Where it fails to exactly where it is, it is not the fault of the author. The

As a libertarian communist who's a member of NALGO working for local government, I should like to comment briefly on Ian Sutherland's article 'What's Wrong With NALGO?' in the July *Anarchist Worker*.

Whilst I'm all for co-operating with other militants on important issues we agree on, and have myself been a member of the Nalco Action Group until quite recently, I think we need to take a much firmer stand on the question of the Labour Party and in general, than len suggests.

To concentrate on trying to develop 'unofficial' organisation and activity is not wrong in itself, so long as this doesn't mean ignoring the established union structures. We should certainly organise and attend union general meetings and develop

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*Postscript: The Impossible Revolution*. By Phil Maier. Solidarity paperback. 300pp. £2.25

How can cards contribute 600,000 people demonstrating in a city of a million? On the effect of carnivals on the Portuguese people, the book says on every bank and every car, in the hands of troops and demonstrators, the use of the word "carnival" is hectic, fast moving events.

Working people and leftists are in the thick of the situation. The call for socialism and the role of the Communist Party are both involved in making it.

Portugal—The Impossible Revolution?—The book is a blow by blow eyewitness account of the 1976 revolution in Portugal. The author, Paul Maitlis, opens the pages of his book to the experiences and the hopes of the young revolutionaries and workers.

It is a book somewhere it is able to stretch evoke the exhilaration of living through a period of revolution and the sense of the future that so really alive.

Where it falls is exactly where it should. The book is written for the

spot style of writing is inadequate in deeply analyzing the forces at work in the Portuguese revolution. It only touches on the problems that it discusses the difficulties faced by workers and peasants in running the country and the role of the self-management into operation.

The book is a good introduction to the actions of the revolutionary parties and organisations, and while it does not go into the details of the revolutionary nature of the Communist Party and Socialist Party, it does provide a good basis for the failure of the left groups never to have been able to win the support of the masses.

It is a book that is a good reaction to these groups.

This we get an impression of the revolution in Portugal, the revolutionaries, midwives of the revolution, the revolutionaries, production, when it has to be realised that these emotive words are nowhere in the book. The book is a good book for the left groups who have Leninist groups tend to substitute themselves for the working class.

---

## Mike Ballard, Social Revolution

There were the problems of the better-paid workers putting up with the lower-paid salesmen. The committees were unable to move beyond the narrow limits of the immediate problems. Few could see how to change the nature of work, how to produce more goods and services, or what they were producing at the moment and common ownership of the means of production was discussed in the background.

Above all, the committees were riven by regional differences. It was nationally, let alone regionally or industrially, divided.

Where it did happen, in Inter-Imperia, where 24 firms, some of them large, had elected delegates from different left and revolutionary left groups tended to be more united.

Many committees stopped sending delegates to general meetings as a result.

Yet the achievements of the Portuguese Revolution in the factories and on the land, were impressive, in spite of many years of fascism, in spite of the economic crisis, in spite of the virtual embargo exercised by foreign capitalists.

The Portuguese Revolution in one country were painfully illustrated.

The Portuguese Revolution, the better to strengthen revolutions around the

[illegible][illegible]

But there were the problems of the *corregidores* themselves. Their resistance to narrowing wages scales. The committees were unable to move against the *corregidores*. Few talked about how to change the nature of work, how to produce more, how to change the nature of what they were producing at the time. The *corregidores* were rarely raised, although it was discussed in the background. The *corregidores* were rarely able to effectively defend nationally, let alone regionally or locally. Where it did happen, in Inter-*provincia*, where 24 firms, some of them with 100 workers, sent delegates from different left and right groups, they tended to manipulate the meetings. Many committees stopped sending delegates to general meetings as a result. Yet the achievements of the Portuguese revolution in factories and on the land, were impressive, in spite of many years of fascism, in spite of the violence, in spite of the virtual absence of excised by foreign capitalists. The Portuguese revolution of 1976 in one country were painfully illustrated. The Portuguese revolution, the better to strengthen revolutions around the

EVOLUTIONARY newspapers run on money, we need YOUR money to keep the furnace burning. We need your money to pay the postage, for these have risen in price in the past few months. We need your money to pay for many of the materials that we use, and most of all, we need your money to pay for the effort to bring out a paper.

So please give generously. We feel that our readers have had a chance to play an important place to fill, and we know from rising lists that many of our readers feel the same. Although our readers are rising, we need to keep posting circulation, so try and take a bundle to your friends. Selling the paper doesn't mean that you are not a member. If you are a member, you can help to make the paper your own. Write to me, and I will send you a membership card.

As the year goes by, improve through a two-way process of criticism and feed back, and will be able to reduce the degree of struggle through self-criticism and self-education.

As from the next issue, and in line with our policy, we will be dropping the names of the American Communist and will come out more clearly. A3 size with 20 pages, and it will be a new paper. We will be able to do this. Please make all charges payable to 'AWA General Fund' 13 Solent Rd, HULL.

URY newspapers run on money, I'm sorry to keep the furnace of money for printing, for the money, and the cost of other news have risen in price in the and it becomes more and more rising out a paper.

generously. We feel that our role is to play, an to fill, and we know from rising of our readers feel the same. sales are rising, we need to keep going, so try and take a bundle to fill the paper doesn't mean at to the organisation, and an help to make the paper yours and articles.

improve through a two-way system, get feedback, and will reality of struggle through existing with us.

next issue, and in line with our the paper will be called communist and will come out more with 20 pages, and it will more, more analysis and comment. chaques payable to 'AWA' Colman St, HULL.

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# Anarchist Worker

SPECIAL EDITION

## Stop the Dublin hangings

DEMONSTRATE TO SAVE THE MURRAYS  
Saturday July 24th 10am  
IRISH EMBASSY GROSVENOR PLACE SW1

DONATIONS ESSENTIAL!

## Show Trial and Torture in Dublin

TWO ANARCHISTS — Marie and Noel Murray — were condemned to death without a proper trial in Dublin last May.

The frame-up and subsequent decision of the Government to hang them, marked the high point of two years of violent repression by the Eire state.

Since the passing of the *Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act* two years ago, state repression has been escalating at a horrifying rate.

Today, torture, phone tapping and the use of troops to smash major strikes is a normal part of political life in the Republic.

There is nothing subtle or undercover about the repression: politicians of the three main political parties all proudly proclaim their intention to take a "tough line" on the question of law and order.

### LAW

The ultimate legal weapon of the state is the *Special Criminal Court*. This was set up specially to deal with political cases and goes on the basis that a defendant is guilty until proven innocent.

For example, a senior police officer need only state that a person is in the IRA and their conviction becomes a foregone conclusion.

There is no jury in the *Special Criminal Court*, which is presided over by a three-man tribunal of judges.

The judges are appointed on the basis of their political loyalties and the only qualification necessary is seven years' service in the legal profession *OF* the army.

Heresy and uncorroborated statements are more than ample for securing a conviction.

In short, the function of the court is to get the 'trial' over as quickly as possible and with the minimum of fuss.

It was this type of *Kingsno Court* which was used to frame the Murrays and will be used against *Ronan Stinson*, if he ever recovers.

### ORDER

Order is administered by police thugs — the Gardai — who act on the basis of 'kick first and ask questions later'.

Literally anyone can be dragged from their bed, or lifted off the street 'to help the police with their enquiries'.

They can be held without charge for up to 72 hours — and immediately re-arrested after that period expires.

Beatings and torture are the rule rather than the exception in these cases, and detainees are frequently kept without food, water or sleep for hours, even days on end.

It is accepted that the police would go to the extent of killing a man.

The decision to hang Noel and Marie Murray comes as the latest stage of the escalating repression; it will be the first hanging in Eire for twenty-two years.

WE MUST FIGHT TO SAVE THE MURRAYS!  
WE MUST ALL OPPOSE OPPRESSION IN EIRE!

## EVERY PENNY COUNTS

This *Anarchist Worker Special* on the Murrays was produced collectively by people from Bradford, Dublin, Glasgow and London who are members of their local Murray Defence Committee. Support in the form of money is especially welcome — you can send it either to your nearest Defence Committee or

direct to us and we will make sure it goes where there is the biggest need, **EVERY PENNY COUNTS**. Please send contributions to: AWA, c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8 2NS, making all cheques/PO's payable to 'AWA General Fund'. **THERE'S NO TIME TO LOSE!**

# MURRAYS TO HANG?

AS Noel and Marie Murray approached their Dublin home after a morning stroll they were confronted by a garda wielding a sub-machine gun.

"You're dead Murray," he screamed.

A few months later, a justice of the *Special Criminal Court* concluded a political show trial by confirming the garda's sentence.

According to the court, the story of the Murrays started on September 11, 1975, when the Allied Irish Bank was robbed by armed raiders.

As the raiders drove off in their car, an off-duty policeman spotted them and gave chase in his car.

He was not fired upon and managed to follow the raiders to nearby St Annas Park, where he was shot in the head.

We do not know exactly what happened in the park, but we can deduce from the forensic reports that garda Reynolds was probably shot in the course of a scuffle at close quarters.

The eye-witness accounts of the bank-clerks and passers-by varied considerably and the only clue the gardai had was a contact lens case which was found in the raiders' car.

The fact that the gardai had nothing to go on, however, did not deter them.

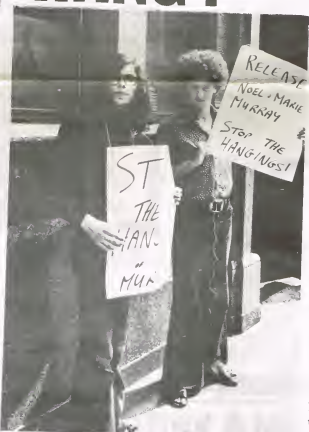
They saw their chance to nail the Murrays.

### WORRIED

The gardai were increasingly worried about the activities of the Dublin anarchists.

They suspected that a section of the movement was responsible for a series of bank raids and Dan Kean, Columba Longmore and Robert Cullen were already in Curragh Military Prison in connection with a petrol bombing of the Spanish Institute.

You can make up your own mind as to whether the police were chiefly interested in suppressing criminal activity or preventing the Murrays from spending their 'il-gotten gains' to advance the working class struggle. Police harassment successfully



## HOW THE POLICE FRAMED THE MURRAYS



## Defence Groups

DUBLIN:  
155, Church Road, Cellbridge, Co. Kildare  
GLASGOW:  
163, Great George Street (Tel: 336 7895 evenings)  
LONDON:  
c/o 83, Haverstock Hill, NW3  
MANCHESTER:  
c/o Grosvenors, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester 1  
PARIS:  
c/o 177 rue de Charonne (Sole Agents)



thwarted the establishment of a new anarchist newspaper.

Of course, politically motivated harassment was not confined to the adventurist section of the anarchist movement, but was generally administered across the whole left spectrum.

In short, repression is increasingly the rule in Eire and it came as no surprise to Dubliners when the death of Garda Reynolds was followed by the usual round of raids.

In this case, approximately two hundred raids were conducted, on known activists and even their friends and relatives.

## TORTURE

The interrogations of these people consisted of beatings, psychological intimidation and 'tongues' style techniques.

One citizen who 'helped' the police with their enquiries' sustained several bruised ribs, another was hospitalised for two weeks.

Independent medical reports have confirmed these facts.



The following month, October, twenty armed police surrounded the Murrays' house and awaited their return.

At 10.30 the same morning, Ronan Stenson was dragged from his bed and manhandled into a police car where he was told he was being taken into the mountains to be shot.

Ronan has a strong psychological aversion to violence of any kind and he had been amongst those who had been 'interrogated' in the first sweep of raids.

The sole reason for picking up Ronan seems to be his political work as a member of the Prisoners Rights Organisation.

Ronan was beaten with a hammer and whipped with a knotted nylon rope, as well as the 'normal' methods of first beatings, humiliation and intimidation.

When some sort of statement had been beaten out of him he was taken to Curragh Military Prison where the army doctor examined him and found extensive bruising on various parts of his body.

He was refused an independent medical examination.

Such was the psychological effect on Ronan that he was on the premises of a complete nervous

breakdown.

He had been on trial for some time, however, before the authorities decided that he was in no fit state to hear the trial.

He was reported to be 'tense, extremely agitated and showing crisis upset of panic proportions'.

His barrister informs us that Ronan breaks down every time he tries to relate how the police treated him.

Noel and Marie were interrogated for 17½ hours before they 'broke'.

In the course of the 'interrogation' Marie was put in the cell next to Noel where she could hear him being beaten and having his head forced into the lavatory.

The police told her that he would be killed.

She had every reason to believe them, so she made a statement to save his life.

As far as we know, the beatings did not stop then.

No medical examinations were allowed after the Murrays had made their statements - which 'roughly agreed'.

## SHOW TRIAL

The Murrays and Stenson were duly charged and sent before the Special Criminal Court.

The entire prosecution case rested on the 'confessions', other evidence and the statements of prosecution witnesses was vague and contradictory.

The Chief Justice, Pringle, stated that there was no evidence to suggest that the statements were anything but voluntary, although the Murrays had since disowned them.

Justice Pringle 'requested' that the press should not report on the admissibility of the statements as evidence.

When the press refused to comply with this farce and such was their disgust at the tribunal's refusal to listen to their requests for a fair, unbiased, re-trial that after a time they refused to instruct their council.

So for a large part of the trial they were unrepresented and undefended.

## PREJUDGED

There have been security leaks which confirm the impression that the BBC knew that the verdict was to be guilty before the judges had officially decided.

Rumour has it that a British hanger had been appointed even before the trial started.

Apparently, no Irishman would do the bloody deed.

The trial went along its predestined course and after six weeks Noel and Marie were found guilty and sentenced to hang.

They were refused the right to appeal, but have since appealed against this decision.

This appeal was due to be heard on July 26.

# ANARCHISM & VIOLENCE?

- At the same time as condemning the brutal and inhuman treatment of Marie and Noel Murray at the hands of the State the Anarchist Workers Association believes that the whole issue of revolutionary tactics arising from this case must be seriously considered.
- We believe that 'heroic acts of isolated individuals can only be counterproductive and a diversion from the real task of building a credible and coherent revolutionary movement within a self-active, consciously libertarian, working class.
- The reasons for this stance are twofold:
  - Individual acts of terrorism, adventurism, do not, as their proponents would have us believe, politicise working people - rather they create a
  - gulf between working people and revolutionary politics, leading to impotence through lack of mass support.
  - Exploiting this rift the State can justify - often with popular support - the introduction of repressive measures, allowing increased police harassment of revolutionaries active in the class struggle, thus hampering the growth of libertarian communist ideas.
  - The ALPA believe that violence aimed at the overthrow of the State can only arise within the context of a mass-based revolutionary struggle. The need to defend revolutionary gains from assaults by the dispossessed capitalist class will then be widely understood and applied by the proletariat.



## DON'T SIT ABOUT - DO SOMETHING

THERE can be no doubt that this was a political trial - whether the Murrays are 'guilty' or not.

All who oppose oppression and injustice in any form must make their protest known.

There is no time to lose and political pressure both from within Ireland and elsewhere may mean the difference between life and death.

Whether you're on your own, a

member of an organisation, trade union or whatever, send a letter to the Murray Defence Committee.

Minister of Justice  
72-78 St Stevens Green  
Dublin 2 EIRE

Already several unions, including ETU, NUS and Glasgow Trades Council have sent protests.

Several political groups are involved in active support.

You can also help with time and/or money by contacting one of the Murray Defence Committee listed below.

As well as in Eire and Britain defence work is also being undertaken in France, West Germany, Japan and the United States.

Everyone is fighting to SAVE THE MURRAYS!

Take a bundle of this Anarchist Worker Special and pass them around where you work, where you live, to your friends.

All you have to do is send a donation and say how many you could usefully get rid of and you'll receive them by return of post.

Write to: AWA, c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E3 2NS.

DO IT NOW!

## THE BRITISH CONNECTION

AS IS well-known, the British Government has been putting diplomatic pressure on the Eire Government to take harsh measures against the IRA.

However, many TD's (Irish MP's) were reluctant to pass the Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act and establish the Special Criminal Court, which framed the Murrays.

At a crucial point during the controversy there were two serious explosions in Dublin, killing two people.

This gave warring TD's the excuse to vote for the 'anti-terrorist' legislation.

It has since been revealed that the bombs were planted by the SAS - the counter-terrorist unit of the British Army, which is responsible directly to Whitehall.

Our task is to turn the present mood into just that outcry.

But apart from just denouncing these comrades we also see the need to examine their tactics in a critical light.

Acts of violence by both socialists and nationalists have been common in Ireland for some time.

This is the result of many things including a failure to break away from the traditional military method of organisation and activity.

The best example of this is the Provisional IRA whose bombing campaign has not only alienated the working class but has antagonised them to a large extent.

What else can be expected when everybody is expected to sit back passively while the 'army' carry on the struggle for them?

The very people they need on their side - the working class - get bombed and shot at: accidents are unavoidable in this situation and their tactics only play into the hands of the sectarian.

Also, the state is given the excuse to hide their economic policies under the black cloak of pursuing 'violent extremists' and bring repression in the back door.

For example, internment would not have been possible at that stage without the 'offensive' bombing campaign of the Provisional.

While the Murrays have only been involved in useful activity on a small scale, that situation nevertheless forced them into isolation from the workers movement and also gave the state a ready-made excuse to 'witch hunt' anarchists.

Hence the increase in right wing legislation and activity by the Government.

The Murrays are not the only

member of an organisation, trade union or whatever, send a letter to the Murray Defence Committee.

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